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**ILLUSTRATED TRAVEL: STEEL ENGRAVINGS AND THEIR USE IN EARLY
NINETEENTH-CENTURY TOPOGRAPHICAL BOOKS, WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO HENRY FISHER & CO.**

VOLUME I: TEXT

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the introduction, production and sale of steel engravings in the illustrated picture books of the first half of the nineteenth century with particular reference to the publications of Henry Fisher, who began his career in Liverpool and continued it together with his son Robert in London. By looking at the processes from the initial artist's design through to its engraving and printing, and by establishing the interaction between the artist, author, publisher and engraver, this study will lead to a better understanding of both the economics and aesthetics of print production and determine the destination of these illustrated picture books by examining the relationship between the publisher and the public. Previous work on nineteenth-century topographical steel engraving has largely had a bibliographical rather than historiographical aim and has concentrated on the classification of images into regional units. Although useful these publications are not intended to be critical and do not lead to an understanding of the contextual background necessary to explain the enormous output and consumption of topographical steel-engraved books in the 1830s and 1840s.

The two leading specialist topographical print-publishers were the London firms of Fisher, Son & Co. and George Virtue. The early career of Henry Fisher as a master printer of mainly religious publications issued in numbers is examined, and this study shows how his innovative marketing, selling and distribution methods led to these being adopted by others in the publishing trade. His transition from publisher of religious numbers in Liverpool to leading publisher of illustrated topographical works in London is investigated for the first time. As no records, account books or archives appear to have survived, this dissertation is based on the substantial number of illustrated travel books with steel-engraved plates that both firms produced between 1829 and 1844 as well as correspondence from Robert Fisher to the Irish artist George Petrie, in which Fisher explains some of 'the peculiarities of our business'.

The two most prolific designers of illustrations for topographical picture books in this period were Thomas Allom (1804-1872) who worked for Fisher, and William Henry Bartlett (1809-1854) who worked for Virtue. Their contribution to the field of topographical book illustration has largely passed unnoticed by art historians who question whether mass produced images can be valued as art. Allom and Bartlett are usually classified as jobbing topographical artists or, at best, as architectural draughtsmen. A secondary aim of this dissertation is to offer a counterbalance to this view and show that their art was more genuinely creative than merely reproductive and moreover that their motives for doing this work were far from being similar.

Declaration

I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly acknowledged.

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INTRODUCTION

I. CONTEXT.

This dissertation investigates the rise of the illustrated picture book with steel-engraved topographical prints from the late 1820s to around the mid 1840s. Steel engraving has largely been seen as a debased reproductive medium and little attention has been given to analysing the commodification of the print in the economics of nineteenth-century print publishing. The subject matter of this dissertation has frequently been seen as being at the cheap end of the market, below the parapet for many in the 'art world'. In this sense it is 'history from below'.

Suarez (2009) writes about the industrialization of the book in the 1830s and how it became a mass market commodity. Yet Raven (2007 and 2009) points out that book commodification did not necessarily mean cheap print (letter-press not images) even if the book was reduced in price by mass production. Publishers, in agreement with booksellers, maintained a relatively high retail price on the sale of books (see 3.1). However, *Annuals* and illustrated picture books were both cheap and luxurious. The product was presented in an attractive binding and the edition size or print run was sufficient for it to be offered at a reasonable though not necessarily cheap price (see 2.15, 2.16 & 2.17).

The key to this study is to treat the illustrated book as a product (in the sense of a commodity and not to divide it purely in terms of text and image) and to investigate how it was manufactured, packaged, marketed, distributed and sold. The large volume sale of illustrated topographical 'view books' with steel-engravings had its origins with the well-founded business of hawking around part-works, 'cheap editions for the inferior classes' as the *Monthly Magazine or British Register* put it in 1820. It would, however, be a mistake to see this purely in terms of the lowest form of publishing. They are not chap-books or Gothic 'bluebooks'.

There is also a human angle, a dynamic between some of the individuals involved and a well meaning intention of improvement, of *Utilitas et Voluptas* (instruction and amusement) by the publishers towards the wider public (see 4. 2). This may have been a convenient notion for the publishers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries but it reflected a general acceptance that this was a good thing to do. Often the prefaces and introductions to the illustrated books stress the 'liberal principles' of the publishers. Certain publications such as *Polynesian Researches* (5.3) were reissued in an inexpensive form to appeal to a readership

that would otherwise have been unable to afford them. This was also a convenient form of republication which benefited both the publisher and the reader. Contemporary commentators such as Charles Henry Timperley considered number publishing as 'a system that has proved of the highest intellectual and moral advantage' to the poorer classes of society (3.7). The republication of universal texts, of abridgements, anthologies and adaptations has a long tradition in publishing. William St Clair (2004) has pointed out that there is a danger in literary and intellectual history of establishing a 'parade of authors' and a 'parliament of texts' by exclusively relying on a text based approach. He stresses that contemporary readers did not solely read contemporary authors.

The production and sale of cheap editions of universal texts such as the *Bible* and Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* had a proven track record throughout the eighteenth century. Fisher's career had clear parallels with other publishers such as Hogg and Kelly, specialists in cheap series publishing. However, Fisher had learnt his trade outside London and it was essentially his earlier career as a publisher of religious numbers in Liverpool that led to his later success as a publisher in London. Studies in book history and print culture have naturally tended to see London as the focus of the book trade but Fisher's example confirms John Feather's notion of 'Others' (2008). Historians and book trade specialists have completely failed to identify not only Fisher's career but his achievement of running 'one of the largest periodical warehouses in the United Kingdom' (see 3.9). Lack of information is partly to blame for this, but, alternative methods of using book trade material, as suggested by William St Clair (2004), can yield significant results. Fisher rose up to become a partner in the firm of Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon by his intelligent introduction of new methods of establishing distribution warehouses in some of the major towns such as Liverpool, Bristol and Leeds with expanding populations and the use of agents on commission to sell the part-works in door to door sales. This reached a stratum of society ignored by the London publishers and was the basis of his success. This easy method of part-work distribution can be contrasted to that which existed for the 'bluebooks' hinted at in the bibliographical checklist established by Angela Koch (2002). Unlike Fisher's system, the 'bluebook' system, if one can define it as such, was controlled from London through the regular chain of county booksellers.

The part-work system spread both the production and purchasing costs over a long period. It benefited the publisher as he cut costs and lessened his exposure or risk by this 'extended sale', effectively accessing a new, less well-off market. It also benefited the buyer who could

buy a number at a fraction of the cost of a book and over a period of time could acquire the entire work without financial hardship. In essence the publishing of periodical numbers is still employed today as a useful tool by magazine publishers and one finds 'collections' or 'series' promoted in the media such as World War II magazines or series on artists, often with a free gift as an inducement or enticement, just as Fisher offered the first and second numbers together (NLI, MS.791, no.192).

During the first decades of the nineteenth century new developments transformed the print and publishing industry. The introduction of stereotyping greatly benefited publishers. The texts were stabilised and made uniform and could be printed in hundreds of thousands or even millions of copies, demand could be measured accordingly and stereotyping also allowed for indefinite reprinting of the texts (see 2.12). This partly explains how Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon became the largest periodical publishing warehouse in the United Kingdom (3.19). New improved machinery such as rolling presses and improved binding methods also made production much faster. The invention of steel-plates allowed illustrations to be printed in their thousands (see Chapter Two). This innovation occurred after the fire that destroyed Nuttall, Fisher & Dixon's Liverpool printing house in 1821. For a short period steel engraved book illustrations dominated the illustrated book market. There were disadvantages such as the separation of the image from the text and the time it took to produce them, in a long chain of production from the initial artist's design, to the engraving and then to the printing by hand of the image.

Having learnt about 'the peculiarities of our business' (a phrase repeated three times in a letter by Robert Fisher to George Petrie, NLI, MS. 791, no. 192, see Appendix 4) and having succeeded in both speculation and risk management, Henry Fisher set up his own publishing house in London in the early 1820s. From 1828 to 1844 the firm of Henry Fisher, Son & Co. became one of the leading publishers of topographical books with steel engravings. Part of the problem why book trade studies have not picked up on Henry Fisher's career is probably his switch from Liverpool to London (see 3.19 and 3.20) and his transformation from religious numbers publisher for the less well off, to a publisher of respectable illustrated or 'embellished' topographical works for the middle classes. A key transitional period in Henry Fisher's career was between 1821 and 1829. He had stopped publishing in Liverpool and he was beginning his business in London. Using traditional book research methods such as looking at the book trade indexes and the publishing imprints only reveals a continuation of

Fisher's reprint and republishing business, not a switch in direction. This is further complicated by a name change from Nuttall, Fisher & Dixon to Henry Fisher, Son & Co. Fortunately the letters (1828-29) between Henry Fisher's son, Robert, and the Irish artist George Petrie, fill this omission and give a clear indication of the direction which Fisher, Son & Co were taking (see Chapter Four). The catalyst for this change in direction, according to the letters of Robert Fisher to George Petrie, appears to be the success of Jones & Co's illustrated book *Metropolitan Improvements* with designs after T.H. Shepherd. From 1829 onwards Fisher, Son & Co entered into competition with a number of publishers, particularly George Virtue, in producing a series of domestic and foreign 'view books' as well as publishing their own successful and long running illustrated Annual, Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* (1832-52), an excellent vehicle for promoting their publications and for republishing prints.

With no extant archives or records of Fisher's business, an important part of this thesis is to examine what the firm produced between 1829 and 1844 and these publications are investigated with particular emphasis on the subject matter, the artists, engravers and comparisons with the production of rival publishing firms (Ch. 5). The next section, *Scope and Content*, gives a brief chapter by chapter summary.

II. SCOPE AND CONTENT

CHAPTER 1

Topographical Book Illustration before 1829

Fisher and Virtue's mass-produced topographical illustrated picture books of the first half of the nineteenth century derived in so many ways from the tourism, culture and landscape of the mid to late eighteenth century. This chapter examines the primary literature including the type of book produced, the methods of publication, the rise of domestic tourism and ways of interpreting the landscape. Closer investigation prompts the questions did the war with France really lead to greater domestic tourism or were these areas popular before the war? Were the major print publishers such as Boydell and Ackermann promoting landscape prints in books or single prints of celebrated pictures? Did antiquarian interests lead to a more commercial market, that had been previously dominated by subscription and patronage among the nobility

and gentry, and how successful was serial publication in the creation of this larger and more popular market? The end of the war with France not only saw a rush to the continent and created a market for foreign views but also the end of the traditional Grand Tour with a different class of sightseer and curiosity about countries beyond the standard European circuit. Advances in the technology of print publishing enabled larger print runs and in the next chapter one sees the replacement of the older type of illustration on copper-plate and aquatint by steel-plates and lithography.

CHAPTER 2

Steel Engraving and Serial Publication

One of the trade practices of the publishers of illustrated topographical books was the use of *serial publication*, which had opened up a new market in the eighteenth century. Firms such as Fisher understood the economies of scale or what one could call 'the numbers game'. Another key innovation was *stereotyping* which allowed for rapid and large runs of popular works. A key to success in this field was the ability to produce good illustrations. One of the further technical innovations that appeared at the end of the 1820s was *line engraving on steel*. Publishers who had previously been limited to print runs in the hundreds from copper-plates that quickly wore out could now produce thousands of prints. Another advantage of the steel-plate compared to the copper plate were the much finer lines which could be engraved. This was eminently suitable for delineating the details on architectural designs for example. It is no coincidence that Allom had trained as an architect and that Bartlett had served his apprenticeship as an architectural draughtsman.

Fisher was a *reprint* specialist and the popularity of the *Annuals* and *Keepsakes* intended for the Christmas and gift market was one method of re-using plates, Fisher used this idea to launch the *Drawing Room Scrap Book* which promoted his own new or reprinted topographical books. The demand for books led to a demand for authors, artists and engravers during the 1830s and 1840s. Speed was of the essence and this created pressures on the artists, engravers and authors.

Thus *serial publication*, *stereotyping*, *steel engravings* and *reprints* laid the foundation of the commercial success that Fisher enjoyed which will be seen in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

A Commercial Enterprise: Fisher, Son & Co. and the economics of Print Production

This chapter examines the London book trade and particularly the firm of Fisher, Son and Co. Book production was concentrated in several parts of London, particularly the St Paul's Churchyard - Paternoster Row district. Both Fisher, Son and Co and George Virtue were based here. Fisher was listed as a publisher of works in numbers. But Henry Fisher's career had begun in Liverpool in the early 1800s as a partner in a firm called Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon. This firm specialized in the numbers trade and Fisher had set up depots throughout England. Their publications were mostly religious works including illustrated Bibles and there was a strong connection with the Methodists. The printing works were the largest in the United Kingdom and Fisher became sole proprietor employing 1,000 people. In 1821 the warehouse was destroyed in a fire and shortly afterwards Fisher set up in London. Here Fisher instigated a change in direction in his publishing activities which is investigated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

Embellished Topography and Extended Sale

A series of letters has survived between the publisher Robert Fisher and the Irish artist George Petrie concerning a project for *Ireland Illustrated*, where Fisher sets out what is required in the way of designs for the engraver and the conditions of employment. By studying these letters a greater understanding of the commercial nature of these topographical works is possible. Fisher insists on a more modern emphasis in the designs citing, with approval, a rival publication, *Metropolitan Improvements* with designs after Thomas Hosmer Shepherd. The subject matter should, for example, include the prominent display of trade names or businesses in an early form of product placement. Drawings should be of a format to allow easy engraving with no loss of time. These instructions to Petrie can be used to compare the output of other artists engaged by Fisher such as Thomas Allom and to contrast with W. H. Bartlett working for the rival firm of George Virtue. Fisher's brochures, advertisements and foreign representation and sales are also considered. Fisher's experience in Liverpool publishing part-works for the poorer classes showed him the importance of extended sale and

reprints which he then used in publishing topographical works aimed at the middle classes. How this was achieved is investigated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

Designs for the Publisher: Thomas Allom and Fisher, Son & Co (1829-1844)

This chapter uses Allom as a case study and analyses his fifteen-year association with the print publishers Fisher, Son & Co. Where possible comparisons are made between his designs in both sketches and watercolours and the published engravings. His prolific designs appear in more than thirty topographical books. They comprise over 1000 plates taken after his designs (many subsequent plates were reissued in the mid 1840s to 1870s by different publishers). The first designs after Allom were of domestic topography such as *Devon and Cornwall Illustrated*. Allom's architectural apprenticeship ended in c.1827 and in 1828 he enrolled in the Royal Academy Schools as an architectural student between 1828 and 1838. Allom's association with Fisher begins c.1828 and it seems likely this association was a means to an end and paid for his studies. By 1845 Allom's connection with Fisher had ended. Although Allom and Bartlett have always been considered as the main artists of this illustrated picture book genre, there is a danger of classifying Allom and Bartlett under the same journeyman artist heading. Even if they were employed as essentially architectural draughtsmen their motivations for pursuing this work were different. Indeed one has to take into account the other types of artistic production which Allom engaged in during the same period including lithography and architecture. Comparisons with better known artists who also provided designs for the print publishers such as J.M.W. Turner, David Roberts, Samuel Prout, Clarkson Stanfield, Thomas Shotter Boys and J.F. Lewis are made. Once Fisher had commissioned the designs from the artists the next stage was the engraving.

CHAPTER 6

Fisher's Engravers and Line Engravings on Steel

The letters between Robert Fisher and the Irish artist, George Petrie, not only set out the requirements expected from an artist to supply the engraver but also refer to some of the leading engravers. Many of the engravers who worked with Turner subsequently worked for the firms of Fisher and Virtue. Engravers were a close knit community, indeed many were members of the same family over several generations. It seems possible to establish a

genealogy or synoptic table of the various relationships including where they were born, who they were apprenticed to and for whom they worked. There seems to be a London and a Birmingham 'school' of engravers but also a tradition of engraving in Scotland, notably William Miller in Edinburgh, who worked as an engraver for Turner's designs, as well as on many of Fisher's publications.

III. METHODOLOGY

Introduction. The book as an artefact of significance.

To approach the subject of nineteenth-century topographical picture books with steel engravings from a purely art historical perspective seemed inadequate in the context of production, as it would tend to divorce the image from the production. Rather than a traditional art history method of simple classification of these engravings followed by stylistic and iconographic analysis (for example classification research: what I term the Beazley method after John Beazley's method of studying Athenian vases and assigning them to painters),¹ it seemed that the best method of analyzing the topic was an interdisciplinary approach by using methodologies successfully employed in those sub-disciplines the 'History of the Book', or more specifically 'Book Trade History', where a contextual relationship can be established between the book as an *artefact*, the text, its illustrations, manufacture, distribution and sale.

Is Book History a Discipline?

The last thirty years has seen growing academic recognition of 'Book History' with the first British University chair in Book History being established as recently as 2006. However, it has been argued, notably by Maureen Bell in her review of Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, (eds.), *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Oxford, 2007), that it is debatable whether History of the Book is a discipline at all.² The methodologies applied to the History of the Book are drawn from other established disciplines such as bibliographical scholarship, textual criticism, cultural studies, media studies, women's or gender studies and history but not so much from sociological research. Therefore it might be more appropriate to see book history as appropriating methods and approaches from other subjects in a multi- and interdisciplinary way.

¹ See www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/pottery/collection/johnbeazley.htm as well as John Beazley *Attic Red Figure Vase Painters* (Oxford, 1942) and *Attic Black Figure Vase Painters* (Oxford, 1956).

² Maureen Bell, review of Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (eds.) *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Oxford, 2007) in *JPHS*, no. 14, 2009, p. 64.

Data Gathering.

Unfortunately no major records survive of either the firm of Fisher, Son & Co or the people it employed. James Raven summed up the lack of publishing records in his recent survey of the English book trade:

We are, nevertheless, severely handicapped by the paucity of archival material. The business and personal papers of the great majority of booksellers (including many lauded by proud Victorians) have been destroyed by the actions of many predators, including scrap-paper merchants, the trader's descendants, misguided antiquarians, and the Luftwaffe.³

One might add that in the patriotic frenzy at the beginning of the First World War many stereotype plates were melted down to supply metal for the war effort.⁴

The lack of archives could be seen as a negative but there was a substantial primary literature comprising the illustrated publications of Messrs. Fisher and Virtue and of their many competitors (as listed in Chapter 5, the select Primary Sources Bibliography and Appendices 1, 2 and 3). A breakthrough in my research was the discovery of letters between Robert Fisher and the Irish artist George Petrie in the National Library of Ireland detailing what the publishers wanted from the artist (see Chapter 4.1 and Appendix 4). Letters to or from the artist W.H. Bartlett (as listed in the Primary Sources and Appendix 2) provided comparison between the rival publishing firms.

General approach to the investigation and analysis of data.

Initially my research focused on the books published by Fisher, Son & Co and establishing a chronological order of publication compared to their principal rivals George Virtue. At this point the research question seemed merely to find answers that went beyond the bibliographical listings and regional classifications of Holloway (1977) and the standard works on steel engraving by Hunnisett (1980, 1989 and 1998) whose references to Fisher, Son & Co and their principal artist Thomas Allom proved both brief and at times inaccurate (see my critique of these publications in my secondary literature review in the next section).

³ James Raven, *The Business of Books: booksellers and the English book trade 1450-1850* (New Haven and London, 2007), p. 374.

⁴ See William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 430.

However the research and my methodology evolved after attending the PHS Conference in 2002 at Reading University with its emphasis on 'Production' and 'Regional Printing'. This introduced me to the practical and technological side of considering how these steel engraved engravings were both produced and distributed. As John Feather has remarked there has not been enough academic emphasis on the 'inky reality of the printing house'.⁵ However, Production is not just about history of the technological part, there is also a practical part as printers were in business to make money. Furthermore William St Clair has argued that the 'History of the Book' is, among much else, the *history of an industry* where one can extract useful economic information and establish patterns or trends concerning production, sales, and prices by analyzing the surviving primary materials.⁶ One of the surprising outcomes of my research on Fisher, Son & Co is to find that there seems to be a philanthropic side to some of his activities that mirrored the sentiment of the time whether it be Christian charity (tempered with, on the publisher's part, self-interest and profit-making justified by his producing works for the public good) or the wish for self-improvement among the book buying population.⁷ However, in his earlier career Fisher was also publishing non-conformist and radical works. Here my research seemed to go backwards in time as, far from being a London-based publisher, Fisher's early career began in Liverpool.

Reception Theory.

St Clair's *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (2004) was a key text in developing my research methods. St Clair's analysis investigates how texts were consumed in the sense of the kinds of audience the text was aimed at. Here it is not only the history of the book but the reading of the book which poses questions about readers and reading habits. For example in Chapter Two (2.15 & 2.16) I consider Annuals, Keepsakes and Silver Fork publications where it is clear that there is a gender question of the readers of periodical literature and that the publishers employed female editors to appeal to a female audience and I consider the relationship between the Annuals and its readers and women as consumers in commodity culture. However it soon proved that Fisher did not aim at only one type of reading community and in my investigation of his earlier career in Liverpool it became clear that he

⁵ Dr John Hinks at PHS Conference, University of Reading, 2002, quoting from 'The Book in History and the History of the Book' in *The History of Books and Libraries: two views*, John P. Feather and David McKitterick (Washington, 1986), p. 5.

⁶ William St Clair, 'Following up *The Reading Nation*' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, edited David McKitterick (Cambridge, 2009), p. 706.

⁷ See Adam Clarke's Introduction to Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon's *Grand Folio Bible* (Liverpool, 1813) p. iv: 'To give a *correct copy* of the Book of God to the Public, was certainly the first object of the Proprietors: they knew they had a right to expect a *profit* from their labour; and they sought that profit only, by profiting their Subscribers'.

published works for Catholic, Protestant, Sectarian, Religious Dissenters and Political Radicals (see my Chapter 3).

Material Text Approach.

Reading University's Typography and Graphic Communication Department's material text approach has placed emphasis on production, use and distribution of texts whether they are printed or in manuscript form, an example being Rob Banham's study of the printing firms of Gye and Balne with emphasis on their colour printing (2004). By closely investigating the empirical data of Fisher's series of publications this study was able to identify patterns of production and consumption. Hence the title of this thesis 'Steel engravings and their use' reflects not only the introduction, production and consumption of steel engraved books but in a broader context of cultural history reflects material culture and mass consumption. Indeed Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose in their *Companion to the History of the Book* (Oxford, 2007) point out that distribution is another aspect of the inescapable materiality of books.⁸

Chronological and Biographical Approach.

A systematic and chronological analysis of the publication of these illustrated books lies at the heart of this thesis (Chapter 5) which reveals the working relationship between the main artist Thomas Allom and Fisher, Son & Co. This chapter essentially used a biographical approach by using information gathered from the archives, trade directories, auction catalogues, Royal Academy exhibition lists and other exhibitions as well as references in contemporary publications.

This study proceeded by establishing a chronology of the nineteenth century publications of Fisher and his rival firms and grounds this analysis in the historical specificities of nineteenth century culture and society. A most useful tool for comparative study and investigation of the British book trade is the *British Book Trade Index* (BBTI) whose online resource has transformed the ability to give an overview of the book trade.

Network Analysis.

Roland Barthes described texts as networks. In this context there are 'business networks' in the creation of a book from publisher, author, printer and bookseller. This thesis traces the various networks connecting authors, printers, publishers, artists, engravers, booksellers,

⁸ Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Oxford, 2007), p. 3.

distributors, agents and consumers (readers). A key influence on this methodology has been the *Print Networks* series (begun 1997) edited by John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong as discussed individually in my secondary literature review. Particularly important was determining the circuits of influence and dependency which enabled the production and consumption of cheap illustrated part-works. I used primary sources such as inventories, publishers' catalogues, letters, and lists of agents to build up a picture of Fisher's network of contacts.

Microeconomic Perspective.

This study looked at Fisher's publishing enterprise from a bottom-up microeconomic perspective. Anthony Griffiths has argued that 'certain publishers aimed their entire output at the bottom of the market, and that the ways they devised to market their stock were different from those employed by mainstream print publishers'.⁹ Recent developments in economic thinking such as Michael E. Porter's analysis of the microeconomics of competitiveness *On Competition* (Boston, 1998) provide relevant methodology, such as his 'five forces that shape strategy' (competitive rivalry, bargaining power of suppliers, bargaining power of customers, threat of new entrants and threat of substitute products), that can be applied in investigating and understanding how Fisher shaped his commercial strategy, found competitive advantage in innovation, created value compared to his publishing rivals, and where he located his business, warehouses and distribution network. By transposing Porter's methods (albeit anachronistically) one gains an understanding of the underlying economic drivers within this specialized sector of the nineteenth-century publishing industry.

Theory of BOP Consumers and creating the capacity to consume.

C. K. Prahalad in *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid* (5th edition, New Jersey, 2009) has recently shown that there is a market at the bottom of the economic pyramid, by highlighting the potential purchasing power among the poorest of the world's population. Prahalad demonstrates that the poor represent a latent market for goods and services, an invisible market of consumers. This concept can be applied to Fisher's early career in Liverpool where he created and managed the sale of periodical literature in numbers among the poorer classes in developing urban centres. Fisher created a capacity to consume among those who had a low level of income by breaking down unaffordable books into smaller units. Prahalad sums up the market at the bottom of the pyramid by stating 'that the critical

⁹ Preface by Anthony Griffiths to Sheila O'Connell's *The Popular Print in England 1550-1850* (London, 1999), p. 6.

requirement is the ability to invent new ways that take into account the variability in the cash flows of BOP consumers that makes it difficult for them to access the traditional market for goods and services orientated toward the top of the pyramid'.¹⁰ Fisher's system, what he termed the 'peculiarities of our business', ensured that his publications were *affordable*, *accessible* and *available* to the less well off sectors of urban society. He subsequently applied this system of marketing expertise to his illustrated topographical publications and widened the market to include the middle and upper classes.

Importance of my secondary literature review to methodology.

During the course of my research certain assumptions needed challenging such as that topographical steel engraved books were an entirely London-based production and that publisher distribution networks were centred and controlled from London. The context in which Fisher's publications were produced has not been understood or appreciated. There was an invisibility about his publishing business. My secondary literature review (which follows my methodology section) is a significant part of my methodology as I emphasise that Fisher's contribution has largely passed unnoticed in studies on nineteenth-century publishing.

IV. SECONDARY LITERATURE REVIEW

Little has been written in recent times about the career of Henry Fisher and the firm he created, Fisher, Son & Co and the enormous production of illustrated picture books with steel engraved prints. Henry Fisher does not even appear in the *ODNB* and his rival and fellow publisher, George Virtue, is only mentioned in the entry for his son James Sprent Virtue, although other contemporary publishers such as Charles Tilt are listed. One has to go back to the nineteenth century to find any detailed biographical information on Henry Fisher from the accounts of Charles Henry Timperley (1839) and Henry Curwen (1873). Malcolm Jones in his recently published *The Print in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London, 2010) comments:

but, strangely, prints in general have been extraordinarily neglected in art history and English prints even more so... in modern times, not only have prints been regarded as a decidedly lowly genre, but also art historians trained in England have instinctively looked abroad, like latter-day Grand Tourists, eagerly admiring the art of Italy, but with an unspoken contempt, or at best snobbish disdain, for that of their homeland.¹¹

¹⁰ C. K. Prahalad, *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid*, 5th edition, (New Jersey, 2009), p. 19.

¹¹ Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London, 2010), Foreword, p.viii.

It is important not to think of Fisher purely as a producer of prints but rather as a publisher of illustrated picture books, or what contemporaries termed 'embellished literature'. In terms of the History of the Book Trade, the literature in recent years has increased as this subject has entered the mainstream as a serious academic discipline. The comprehensive and enormously useful survey of the English Book Trade by James Raven, *The Business of Books, Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850* (New Haven and London, 2007) does not mention Henry Fisher. Yet the book gets tantalisingly close in its discussion of part-works and numbers publishers including Fisher's predecessors in Paternoster Row, such as James Harrison, John Cooke and Alexander Hogg, though curiously not Thomas Kelly, whose career pattern seems to be much nearer Fisher's. James Raven's survey is a welcome addition to the standard work by John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London, 1988) and the extensive contributions by Robin Myers including her important *The British Book Trade - A Bibliographical Guide* (London, 1973) which lays out the way in which the book trade was involved in all aspects of book publishing. Robin Myers and Michael Harris's edited series of books on the book trade are discussed individually below. In the last few years two major works have treated publishers who were in business as Fisher's contemporaries, Asa Briggs, *A History of Longmans and their books 1724-1990 Longevity in Publishing* (London, 2008) and the late Humphrey Carpenter's *The seven lives of John Murray* (London, 2008) which shows that publishing history and history of the book trade very much in the mainstream of current academic interest. In the former, Briggs points out the more specific relationships within the book trade between papermakers, printers, bookbinders, booksellers, publishers, authors and readers. He asks about the role of patronage and of the market and the effect of serialisation and suggests that the study of any relationship demands an interdisciplinary approach. He explores the economic dimension within Longmans, their customary trade practices and the production and distribution of their books. In looking at the publishing house of Murray, Carpenter points out how many of the early John Murray books were co-publications and that publishers were often merely selling agents for others. The relationship with Byron and the illustration of travel books is dealt with as well as the later development by John Murray III of the famous travel handbooks.

A new approach was seen in William St Clair's groundbreaking study *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge, 2004), where St Clair suggests alternative ways of using book trade material by approaching it differently from the methodologies of the literary, cultural and book historians whose information base has been more limited than his own

approach. Particularly significant is his approach to the lack of information on costs, pricing, print run and sales and he provides a series of appendices where this material can be used as cross references within his narrative, as a series of interlocking characteristics and as intellectual engagements with the evidence. This evidence is particularly relevant to this study when looking at the sources of printed catalogues of titles and prices not normally found in institutional libraries, as they are usually re-bound without them. As he comments 'the tabular presentation enables factual and statistical information to be presented in non hierarchical form to show long term historical development' (p.17). Thus the information gathered can lead to a systematic investigation from empirical data to identify patterns.

A recent development in book trade history has been to look at book trade communities outside London in the provinces and current research is summarised in Maureen Bell and John Hinks's 'The English provincial book trade: evidence from the British book trade index' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, volume V, 1695-1830, edited by Michael Suarez and Michael Turner (Cambridge, 2009). Research in this field was pioneered by the late Peter Isaac and Barry McKay, in *Quadrat*, a periodical bulletin of research in progress on the history of the British book trade and particularly *Images and Texts, their production and distribution in the 18th and 19th centuries*, edited P. Isaac and B. McKay (Winchester, 1997). Among the findings of Bell and Hinks (as above) relevant to this study is that in the late eighteenth century the two major ports were Bristol and Liverpool, both with lively book trades and fast growing populations and it is precisely here that Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon had printing establishments and/, or periodical warehouses. Bell and Hinks include a series of figures showing the number of printers in Bristol and Liverpool 1700-1849. Sheila O'Connell in *The Popular Print in England 1550-1850* (London, 1999) makes an important point when she states that 'printmaking is essentially an urban and commercial phenomenon; it developed to serve the needs of a population which was congregated in towns'.¹²

Volume V of *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, edited by Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge, 2009) spans the period 1695-1830. In his introduction Suarez mentions Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon twice and comments that firms such as these 'are now less well remembered' yet 'the firm - active 1806-18 as printers, publishers, booksellers and even newsagents - operated on a considerable scale. It is difficult to imagine the existence of such

¹² Sheila O'Donnell, *The Popular Print in England 1550-1850* (London, 1999), pp. 10-11.

an enterprise in the absence of large sources of commercial capital'.¹³ It is hoped that the present study will make a contribution to the knowledge of the activities of Henry Fisher and show how his business acumen of 'extended sale' through part publishing led to such commercial success. As such, I see this study as filling a gap between volumes V and VI of the *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*.

James Raven contributed a useful chapter on 'The book as a commodity' in part two, chapter 3 (pp. 85-117) of volume V, some of which is a summary of his previous publications including the *Business of Books* (2007) as well as summarising the points made in other chapters within volume V by Barker, Beavan, Benson, Bidwell, Bonnell, Briggs, Clayton, Ferdinand, Forster, Green, Griffin, Harris, Immel, Landon, McDougall, Maidment, Maslen, Mosley, Myers, Rose, Shaw, Suarez, Sutherland, Tierney and Turner. Raven's later chapter on 'London and the central sites of the English book trade' (part IV, pp. 293-308) goes over ground such as St Paul's Churchyard and Paternoster Row covered in Hall and Raven (2000) which is restricted to the eighteenth century and does not cover in such detail the period 1800-1830 which would have been useful for the purposes of this study.¹⁴ James Mosley's 'The technologies of printing' gives some excellent definitions and descriptions of copperplate, mezzotint and wood engraving and covers lithography, aquatint and stereotyping (pp. 163-199). Tim Clayton in 'Book illustration and the world of prints' (pp. 230-247) is not at all impressed with steel engraving and dismisses it in two paragraphs stating the process was too hard to work and prone to rust (pp. 240-241) with the conclusion that 'the boom for steel illustration between 1825 and 1845 yielded many more books about art than had ever been published previously, in much larger editions'.

Volume VI of *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, edited by David McKitterick (Cambridge, 2009) covers the period 1830-1914. With such a vast spread it is no surprise that there is no mention of either Fisher or Virtue. In fact for the purposes of this study, it is unfortunate that the two volumes of the *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* should divide at 1830. As McKitterick writes in the Preface (p. xvi):

the wealth of surviving evidence, on a scale many times greater than for any previous period and perhaps greater than for any other country at this time, is both a strength and a difficulty. It is impossible to attain the relative coverage of earlier volumes in the *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*.

¹³ *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (eds. Michael Suarez and Michael L. Turner) introduction by Michael Suarez (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 20 & 31.

¹⁴ Although the footnotes cite Hall and Raven (2000) in nos 5, 26, 47, 49, the Bibliography fails to include this publication. In fact James Raven and Nigel Hall cooperated in The London Book Trades Project see <http://members.lycos.co.uk/bookhistory>.

There are two relevant chapters that give summaries of illustrations and serialisation: Michael Twyman, 'The Illustration Revolution' (pp. 117-143) and Graham Law and Robert L. Patten, 'The Serial Revolution' (pp. 144-171).

Journeys through the Market - Travel, Travellers and the Book Trade, edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (New Castle, USA and Folkestone, UK, 1999) contains a useful essay on 'Illustrated Books of the Middle East 1800-1850' by Charles Newton of the Searight Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum where Fishers' publications on both Syria and Constantinople are contrasted with other illustrated accounts of the Middle East and Holy Land and the books are put into the context of the time. In the same series is *Maps and Prints- Aspects of the English Book Trade*, edited Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Oxford, 1984) with Ralph Hyde on 'Robert Havell junior, Artist and Aquatinter' and John Ford's 'Ackermann Imprints and Publications'. There is even a brief and rare mention of Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon by Michael Perkin in his essay 'Egerton Smith and the early nineteenth-century book trade in Liverpool' in *Spreading the Word - The distribution networks of print 1550-1850*, edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester, 1990).

A very useful series is the *Print Networks* series edited by John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong. *Book Trade Connections from the 17th to the 20th centuries* (New Castle, USA and London, 2008) contains John Feather's *Others: some reflections on Book Trade History*, where he states that one cannot understand the history of the British book trade without understanding the predominance of the London Publishers but that there was another book trade, partly independent and partly interwoven with the London book trade, and it did things that the mainstream London booksellers and publishers would not, or could not do and the 'Others' may be on the fringe, but they are an integral part of the history of the trade. This seems pertinent when considering Fisher's role with Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon in Liverpool of establishing periodical warehouses throughout Britain and the eventual adoption of serial publication coming from the bottom up, from unseen practices of hawking in the provinces to grudging acceptance as part of the publishing activities of some of the London publishing houses. It may never have been mainstream but it came from the fringe towards the centre. In the same series, *Printing Places - Locations of Book Production and Distribution since 1500*, edited by John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (New Castle, USA and London, 2005) has a mention of Fishers' *Devonshire Illustrated* compared to a concurrent publication of the same

year in Ian Maxted's 'The Production and Publication of Topographical Prints in Devon 1790-1870'.

Catalogues concerning Printers and Publishers:

A starting point for looking at printers and publishers in London are: Philip A. H. Brown *London Publishers and Printers c.1800-1870* (London, 1982); Ian Maxted *The London Book Trades 1775-1800 - A Preliminary checklist of members* (London, 1977); William B. Todd (compiled) *A Directory of Printers and others in Allied Trades, London and vicinity 1800-1840* (London, 1972) and Anthony Griffiths, *A checklist of British Print Publishers c. 1650-1830* in *Print Quarterly*, I, (1984), pp. 4-21. If these printed sources are looking a bit dated then they can be complemented by new electronic resources available on the Web such as the *British Book Trade Index* (BBTI), *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC) where there are better quality records concerning books of views for example than on the British Library's Integrated Catalogue, and search engines such as COPAC and the Bodleian Library's recently launched SOLO (Search Oxford Libraries Online).

In looking at travel illustration before 1829, the first chapter concentrates on what went on in the eighteenth century and, with reference to Britain, Rosemary Sweet's survey *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in 18th century Britain* (London, 2004) proved particularly useful. Individual print sellers and publishers such as Boydell and Ackermann have been covered by studies such as John Ford's *Ackermann Imprints and Publications* (1984), as already mentioned above, but also in Ford's entry on Ackermann in the *ODNB* (2004) and in Chapter 10 of Martin Hardie's *English Coloured Books* (reprinted 1990). The career of John Boydell formed the subject of Vivienne Paintings' unpublished PhD (1996): *The commercial Maecenas: a study of the life and principal business concerns of John Boydell* which provided material for her book *John Boydell* (London, 2005).

For what concerns topography, much of the previous secondary literature has merely concentrated on classifying the primary literature. There have been few attempts at a more comprehensive survey and none of these studies have led to an understanding of the contextual background to explain the enormous production and consumption of topographical books with steel engravings. A key limitation of the previous secondary literature is the absence of any analysis of the economics of print production.

Most topographical studies have concentrated on regional areas, for example, the British Library offers a 49-page annotated *Bibliography of Bibliographies* in its online topography reference source at <http://www.bl.uk/collections/wider/topography.html> which is divided into regions. Moreover, at present, with its hundreds of thousands of prints and drawings of the British Isles, it is not possible to search in a uniform way the Library's collections for a specific place or particular artist. Attempts have been made elsewhere, for example, Ernst Andres' *Bibliography of nineteenth-century illustrated works containing views of towns and cities engraved on steel* (Alphen aan den Rijn, 2002), 3 volumes. However there are some limitations with this approach, first by its very definition it excludes landscape views and second, although it claims to provide sources, this has proved inaccurate, for example inaccurate shelfmarks to the BL collections. Among the more academic attempts at analysing regional topographical views are Malcolm Andrews' *The Search for the Picturesque* (Aldershot, 1989), and especially Peter Bicknell's *The picturesque scenery of the Lake District* (Winchester, 1990) which is a bibliographical study of books about the Lake District published before 1855 in chronological order, and contains a particularly useful analysis of Thomas Rose's *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* published by Fisher in 1832. Bicknell's Exhibition catalogue *Beauty, Horror and Immensity: Picturesque Landscape in Britain 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1981) which was published to accompany an exhibition at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge contains excellent references to secondary literature. Peter Murray's *George Petrie (1790-1866) - The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, Exhibition Catalogue, Crawford Municipal Gallery (Cork, 2004) was a major breakthrough for my research on Henry Fisher as it mentioned a series of letters between Robert Fisher and Petrie which are kept at the National Library of Ireland. Michael Clarke's *The tempting Prospect: a social history of English Watercolours* (London, 1981) has useful sections on not only artists but particularly on the system of patronage. Among many regional studies Sam Smiles and Michael Pidgley's *The Perfection of England: Artist Visitors to Devon c. 1750-1870* (Plymouth, 1995) claims to be the first major exhibition of artists who produced work on Devon. It lists *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* in the bibliography under the artists Allom and Bartlett but does not name the publisher and no work by either artist is in the catalogue of exhibits.

This thesis follows on from my MA dissertation *Attribution and Appropriation in the classification and valuation of the topographical steel engravings of Thomas Allom* (Southampton Institute, 1997). However it was not possible to make Allom alone the subject

for a fuller study as Allom left no collection of letters, diaries or other records, except for his surviving pictures and buildings, and it would be too narrow a field to concentrate purely on his oeuvre as a topographical artist. As a consequence no full biography has been written on Allom. However, the most recent edition of the *ODNB* (2004) has now rectified the position with a fuller entry for Allom which includes his portrait by Thomas Carrick, in an article by Diana Brooks. Brooks is the great-great-grand-daughter of Thomas Allom and organised and wrote the catalogue, *Thomas Allom (1804-1872)* to the only exhibition ever held on Allom at the British Architectural Library, RIBA (1998) which focused on the inter-relationship between Allom's paintings and buildings.¹⁵

There is also a contradiction and a difficulty in considering the career of Thomas Allom. Allom trained as an architect and preferred, according to one surviving letter of circa 1850, to be remembered as an architect and was somewhat embarrassed by his earlier reputation as an artist supplying sketches for publishing houses.¹⁶ As Diana Brooks remarked, 'Producing designs for steel engraved book illustrations was always a means to an end for him'.¹⁷ Yet Allom's reputation was founded on the numerous illustrated topographical works of the 1830s and 1840s with steel engravings after his designs.

With regard to topographical works containing steel engravings, Allom is considered with William Henry Bartlett to be the two most prolific designers from the late 1820s to mid 1840s, each producing hundreds of sketches to be engraved in numerous topographical books. However, their contribution to this field has largely passed unnoticed by art historians. In the past, critics have questioned whether mass-produced images can be considered and valued as art. John Buchanan Brown in his survey *Early Victorian Illustrated Books: Britain, France and Germany, 1820-1860* (London, 2005) dismisses Allom and Bartlett commenting that 'they made little contribution to the art of the Romantic book'.¹⁸

Most references to Allom and Bartlett are cursory mentions or footnotes in reference books or dictionaries where they are referred to, at best, as topographical / architectural draughtsmen, sometimes as artist-travellers or the more elegant French term 'peintre-voyageur' or the less

¹⁵ The author of the present dissertation was consulted and acknowledged in the catalogue of the Exhibition, pp.7, 106 & 115: Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom (1804-1872)*, catalogue of the Exhibition, British Architectural Library, RIBA (London, 1998).

¹⁶ Letter to an unknown correspondent, c.1850. Christie's South Kensington Allom Sale, 18 November 1985, Lot 1.

¹⁷ Brooks, *Thomas Allom* (London, 1998), op. cit, p.28.

¹⁸ John Buchanan-Brown, *Early Victorian Illustrated Books: Britain, France and Germany, 1820-1860* (London, 2005), p. 194. There is also a slight muddling of Henry and Robert Fisher the publishers with S. Fisher, the engraver on p.28. But he draws attention to Thackeray's criticism of illustrations, 'change not the plates but the names underneath', p. 29.

flattering journeyman artist or 'petit-maitre'. They also tend to be lumped together as very similar artists. This thesis will attempt to show that although they came from similar, rather humble backgrounds, their careers and aspirations were very different.

A pioneering work on steel engraved prints was Merlyn Holloway's *A Bibliography of nineteenth-century British Topographical books with Steel Engravings* (London, 1977). Although useful, it is not intended to be critical, and is limited to a bibliography of British topography, by giving the title, the collation of the text, titles of the plates, the names of the artist, engraver, publisher and date of publication (where known). Ronald Russell's *Guide to British topographical prints* (Newton Abbot, 1979) discusses the main mediums used such as copper and steel engraving, aquatint and lithography, wood engraving and etching, and provided lists of artists, engravers and books. Basil Hunnisett in *Steel-engraved Book Illustration in England* (1980) also concentrates entirely on British topography. Hunnisett has written some major works on steel engraving: *Engraved on Steel: the history of picture production using steel plates* (Aldershot, 1998); *Dictionary of British Steel Engravers* (1980); *An Illustrated Dictionary of British Steel Engravers* (revised and enlarged edition, Aldershot, 1989) which has become a standard work of reference with an excellent bibliography of both primary and secondary sources and lists many little known engravers. In *Steel-engraved Book Illustration in England* (London, 1980) it is revealing to note that there was an imbalance in Hunnisett's text regarding the weight given to the contribution of Bartlett and Allom respectively. There were only two paragraphs for Allom which contain some serious errors including a misreading of Allom's early career where Hunnisett claims that after studying at the Royal Academy Schools 'about 1825, he travelled abroad, chiefly in Europe, to extend his artistic experience... soon after his return from Europe, Allom began his work for Fisher...'. (page 108). Then Hunnisett dedicates six pages to Bartlett's career. However, this may have reflected the state of knowledge at that time. Hunnisett (1998) continued his survey of steel engraving by considering the part played by steel engraving on the continent. It is a general history of picture production using steel plates and mainly focusing on engraving and engravers. Unfortunately, yet again, there are only three passing references to Thomas Allom, which is rather odd, in that Allom is generally considered as one of the leading artist/designers for steel engraved plates and is particularly noted for his foreign views in publications on Turkey, France and China.¹⁹

¹⁹ Basil Hunnisett, *Engraved on steel* (Aldershot, 1998), op. cit. pp. 245, 290 and 293.

Two auction sales in 1983 and 1985 briefly brought Allom into the spotlight when many of his designs intended for the publishers were sold.²⁰ The two Christie's catalogues, as well as the Allom 'studio' sale in 1873,²¹ are extremely useful in allowing comparisons to be made between his designs for the publisher and the finished engravings and play a key role in the chapter concerning Allom and Fisher's output. Yet, in the short biography of Allom in the Christie's South Kensington *Catalogues* of 1983 and 1985 they maintain that 'in the main Messrs. Virtue & Co and Messrs. Heath & Co published most of his work'. This was gleaned from the primary sources such as Allom's obituary in the *Builder*, 26 October 1872 and Redgrave's *Dictionary of Artists of the English School* (1878) and then repeated in the secondary literature such as Christopher Wood's *Dictionary of British Art, volume IV: Victorian Painters* (Woodbridge, 1995) page 22. This information is now shown to be incorrect as will be seen in Chapter Five and Appendix 3, where the select Bibliography of Books containing steel engraved plates mostly after designs by Thomas Allom shows that Fisher, Son & Co published the majority of Allom's designs. However, like much of Book Trade History, there is a lack of documentation and one may hope that in time some more material may come to light but it seems very unlikely that any major records survive of the publishing firms of Messrs. Fisher and Virtue and that the same may be said about Allom, apart from his extant oeuvre and some private family papers.

However, information on Bartlett is easier to come by. In 1973 Alexander M. Ross wrote a biography *William Henry Bartlett, Artist, Author, and Traveller* (Toronto, 1973) This biography is now somewhat dated and no attempt has been made to compile a select bibliography of engravings after Bartlett in the manner of Holloway. Much of the research by Ross has gone to the University of Guelph in Canada where there is a Bartlett archive.²² This can be consulted on the web: www.lib.uoguelph.ca/resources/archival. Since 1997 the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution have held the Eugene C. Worman research material on Bartlett. The Worman material holdings is listed on the internet at www.aaa.si.edu/collections/findingaids/wormeuge. Princeton University's Graphic Arts Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, (GC027), hold 43 watercolour and sepia drawings of the Holy Land by Bartlett that were once pasted ('grangerization') into a Bible owned by the Earl of Ancaster. www.princeton.edu/rbsc. The British Library, RIBA,

²⁰ Allom Sales at Christie's South Kensington, 28 November 1983 and 18 November 1985.

²¹ *Catalogue of the whole of the remaining works of Thomas Allom, deceased*, Friday March 14, 1873 at Christie, Manson and Woods, 8, King Street, St James's Square.

²² W. H. Bartlett Collection, McLaughlin Library, University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada.

Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge, Victoria and Albert Museum, Leeds Museum, The Minet Library, Lambeth and the Wiltshire Heritage Museum at Devizes in Wiltshire (John Britton Collection) also have Bartlett drawings. In the latter collection in Wiltshire I am doubtful about their cataloguing as several sketches by Bartlett (DZSWS:1982.8093 and 1982.3206) are listed with dates as early as c.1810 and 1821 which to say the least is curious as Bartlett was born in 1809. Interest in Bartlett is also growing in the Middle East because of his images which show not only the monuments but his depictions of daily life in the nineteenth century. A recent exhibition was held in Syria: *Romantic Travel through Bartlett's Engravings from Europe to the Middle East* organised by Hussein I. El-Mudarris and Olivier Salmon with a preface by Philip Mansel (Aleppo, 2007). The accompanying book contains 199 illustrations of engravings after Bartlett. The text is an assimilation from other sources (not always accurate) and it does contain errors, notably that Juliet Pardoe accompanied Bartlett on his travels. Images by Thomas Allom are particularly prevalent in Turkey and Diana Brooks has commented that 'Allom's illustrations are still popular and sought after in modern Istanbul where reproductions of the plates are on sale as souvenirs, posters and postcards. Allom defines the images of pre-modern Turkey, much as David Roberts does in Egypt'.²³

However, the lack of publishing records substantially influenced the approach to research in this thesis and it was decided to use Allom and Bartlett as a starting point in Chapter Five 'Designs for the Publisher', in the wider question of the role played by artists in the processes of production from the initial sketch commissioned by the publisher, to engraving that sketch and finally to the publishing of the topographical book and its sale to the public. A seminal work on the nineteenth-century engraving trade by Anthony Dyson, *Pictures to Print: the nineteenth century engraving trade* (London, 1984) drew on the records of Dixon and Ross, copper-plate and steel-plate printers since 1833. This work is widely quoted but much of it falls outside the scope of the present inquiry in terms of material and dates, as their activities were mostly fine art reproductions of big plates of single pictures by famous artists. Timothy Clayton's *The English Print 1688-1802* (New Haven and London, 1997) provides an account of the British print trade in the eighteenth-century and describes how British engravers such as Strange and Woollett established a reputation for British prints on the Continent from the 1760s. However it is a history of separately published prints and book illustration is excluded due to lack of space. Clayton's survey also stops in 1802 before the invention of steel engraving.

²³ Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op. cit. p.35.

In recent years there has been research into printing and publishing firms such as Rob Banham's unpublished PhD on *Frederick Gye and Giles Balne. A study of the firms Gye and Balne (1805-1829) and Balne (1829-1838), with particular reference to their colour printing*, 2 volumes (University of Reading, 2004). Of particular interest is the detailed discussion of printing methods used to produce the advertisements for which this firm is known. Banham was also hampered by the lack of business records and relies on the surviving printed documents produced by the two firms.

For discussion on the techniques of steel engraving Basil Hunnisett (1980) proved very useful, as did Bamber Gascoigne *How to identify Prints* (London, 1986 and 1995). Devon Libraries Local Studies Service has an online resource where there is detailed information on engraving: *Etched on Devon's Memory*, www.devon.gov.uk/etched. For lithography Michael Twyman has published three excellent works: *A Directory of London Lithographic Printers 1800-1850* (London, 1976); *Lithography 1800-1850: the techniques of drawing on stone in England and France and their application in works of topography* (London, 1970) and *Breaking the Mould: the first hundred years of lithography* (London, 2001) where Twyman puts the history of lithography within the context of history of printing and publishing and shows how it made a contribution to business, social and cultural history. J. R. Abbey's three major bibliographical catalogues, which are a landmark in studies on lithography, have useful indexes to artists, authors, engravers, printers, publishers and booksellers in: *Life in England in aquatint and lithography 1770-1860* (London, 1953); *Scenery of Great Britain and Ireland in aquatint and lithography 1770-1860* (London, 1952) and *Travel in aquatint and lithography 1770-1860* (London, 1956-57). James Mosley's 'The technologies of printing' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, volume V, pp.163-199 provides excellent definitions and explanations of copper-plate printing, mezzotint, and developments in wood engraving. What must be stated here is how under-appreciated steel engravings are in general. They are considered beneath academic interest, not rare enough, over-produced, hack-work unless connected with J.M.W. Turner.

There are not many books on engravers but J. Heath's *The Heath Family Engravers 1779-1878* (London, 1993) proved very useful. The *ODNB* also has many individual entries on the better known engravers, and there is also an online resource on Sir Walter Scott which usefully lists engravers who illustrated his works including, for example, the Edinburgh based

engraver, William Miller: www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/portraits/engravers. In looking at Fisher's production of *The Drawing Room Scrap Book* series it was surprising to see how much work has recently been done, particularly in the United States, on the *Annals* and one finds oneself straying from the discipline of Book History into Literature, particularly Women's Literature and Gender studies. For many years the standard work was Andrew Boyle *An Index to the Annals* (Worcester, 1976). Work on the *Annals*, given the nature of their contents, has benefited enormously from the development of search engines and Boyle's *Index* has now been complemented, if not expanded, by an electronic resource such as Harry E Hootman's *British Annals and Giftbooks* on: www.britannuals.com which 'provides the collation of each work, bibliography and an engravings database'.

The following are representative of the more modern studies: Alison Adburgham *Silver Fork Society: Fashionable Life and Literature from 1814 to 1840* (London, 1983); Glenn T. Himes 'A Comprehensive Index and Bibliography to the Poetical Works of Letitia Elizabeth Landon' in *Letitia Elizabeth Landon: Selected Writings*, edited Jerome J McGann and David Reiss (Ontario, 1998); Katherine Harris 'Forget-Me-Not A Hypertextual Archive of Ackermann's 19th century Literary Annual' in *Poetess Archive*, general editor Laura Mandell, available online at www.orgs.muohio.edu/anthologies/FMN (accessed 18 January 2007); Henrietta Twyncross-Martin 'Sarah Stickney Ellis' in *Wollstoncraft's Daughters: womanhood in England and France 1780-1920* by Clarissa Campbell-Orr (Manchester and New York, 1996); Terence Allen Hoagwood and Kathryn Ledbetter "*Colour'd Shadows*" *Contexts in Publishing, Printing and Reading Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers* (New York, 2005) describes itself in the introduction (p. 3) as a 'scholarly approach based on the history of books, and to show in practice ways to unfold multiple meanings of literary work including meanings that the physical form of the work creates, and meanings that arise as the book circulates in material exchanges'. The book provided some very useful information in the chapter on women editors of nineteenth-century British Literary Annuals (chapter 4, p.75) not found elsewhere including letters written by Fisher & Co to the author Thomas Moore asking him to edit *The Drawing Room Scrap Book* and revealing the wage that 'LEL' got for editing it (p. 86).

Angela Koch in 'The absolute horror of horrors. Revised. A bibliographical checklist of early nineteenth-century Gothic bluebooks' in *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic* (Cardiff, 2002) examined the sub literature of Gothic 'bluebooks' which flourished c.1796-1810 and

established a bibliographical checklist of about 200 publications. What is particularly revealing and relevant to this study are the names and localities of the distributors given in the various adverts and publisher bylines which, once extrapolated, indicate the methods of circulation and distribution from the London publishers to the provincial booksellers established in over 20 major towns and cities throughout the United Kingdom. This was precisely the period when Henry Fisher established his periodical warehouses throughout the country. This literary substrata has hitherto gone unnoticed probably because of its low-brow genre but suggests a healthy activity whether in 'bluebooks' or in the case of Fisher, 'Faith and Works', self-help, conduct manuals and other practical and universal publications that did not necessarily gravitate around the publishing practices of the London publishing houses, in contrast to the 'bluebooks', and have therefore been largely invisible or ignored in book history studies.

Bernard Adams' *London Illustrated 1604-1851* published in a limited edition of 1000 copies by the Library Association (London, 1983) is particularly useful as it provides accurate detailed book descriptions with notes on the volume's publishing history, a transcript of the title-page, the collation of the book including page measurements, transcription of the caption, with indication of its position, credits to the artist, engraver, measurements of the engraved area and plate mark, and indications of part publication (with an especially detailed description of the genesis of Shepherd's and Jones & Co's *Metropolitan Improvements*). Unlike Adams's scrupulous descriptions many other books, especially in their reproductions of the plates, leave out the captions and the credits to the artist and engraver which can be immensely frustrating. The only drawback to Adams's *London Illustrated* is that, as the title implies, it is limited to London and, no doubt due to cost, contains only 50 illustrations for a text of over 500 pages. To complement the discussion on T.H. Shepherd, J.F.C. Phillips' *Shepherd's London* (London, 1976) is lavishly illustrated.

Travel, Tourism and the Guidebook has its own literature which ranges from the academic to the anecdotal. A pioneering work on the history of the guidebook was John Vaughan's *The English Guidebook c.1780-1870. An Illustrated History*. (London and North Pomfret, 1974). James Buzard *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature and the ways to Culture 1800-1918* (Oxford, 1993) argues that after the Napoleonic Wars the perception that the Continental tour was becoming more broadly accessible gave rise to the question of what was an authentic cultural experience and the distinction between a 'true traveller' and a 'tourist'.

Lynne Withey spanned three centuries with her *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel 1750-1915* (London, 1998). Giles Barber provided a succinct summary with 'The English Language Guide Book to Europe up to 1870' in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds) *Journey through the Market. Travel, Travellers and the Book Trade* (Newcastle and Folkestone, 1999). Some titles suggest witty anecdotal accounts aimed at entertaining such as Richard Mullen and James Munson's *The Smell of the Continent. The British discover Europe 1814-1914* (London, 2009) whose use of 'Victorian' is oddly defined as covering the whole period under question and the text, which gives cursory treatment to a century of travel, is mostly an *olla podrida* compilation of notes taken by the authors over thirty years 'while preparing just under one hundred BBC documentaries' with some useful footnotes and a Chapter Four which considers Murray's *Handbooks* and Baedeker's *Guides*. Another recent work is Nicholas T. Parsons *Worth the Detour - A History of the Guidebook* (Stroud, 2007) which, despite the title, is a serious attempt at understanding the cultural and social influences, the motives for travel, the authors and consumers of these books. Parsons begins with Antiquity and the origins of guidebooks such as Pausanias's *Guide to Greece* in the second century A.D., which adopted a 'topographical approach'. Then there is the 'list approach' with a particular emphasis on the significant number of seven, as in Philo of Byzantium's *Guide to the Seven Wonders of the World*. Parsons takes the reader from 'Homeric Geography to Christian Cartography' through the guidebooks written for pilgrims to the Holy Land, Santiago de Compostella and to Rome, the instructions to travellers 'ars apodemica or art of travel' (*L'Art de Voyager*), to medieval travellers such as the twelfth century Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, to the scholarly guides of the Renaissance, onto the age of Enlightenment and the Grand Tour and into the nineteenth century with what he calls the 'embourgeoisement' of travel. Parsons points out that early on in the guidebook genre there is a distinction between the *Itineria Picta* (illustrative element) and the *Itineraria Scripta* or *Adnotada* (written or annotated itineraries). The first illustrated guides such as the *Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Iherusalem et al Monte Sinai* (published Bologna c.1500) had woodcuts. The invention of printing made indexing possible by fixing words in the same place in thousands of copies of books. There was no longer any need for mnemonic recall with its emphasis on symbolic or allegorical figures. Now the guidebooks moved away from oral culture to logical analysis which appealed to a Protestant northern Europe and those Protestants who travelled to or through Catholic countries, and who saw the civilizing or educational benefits of travel. This led in the seventeenth century to an increasing number of visitors particularly in Rome where both guidebooks and cicerones flourished. Woodcuts and

Copper engravings multiplied. The first true guidebook in the English language was by Richard Lassels, published posthumously as *Voyage of Italy* (Paris, 1670).²⁴ Before discussing the guidebooks of Murray, Baedeker, Bradshaw and Cook at the beginning of the railway age, Parsons does consider some of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century publishers on travel such as the road books produced by Samuel Leigh who translated Ebel's *Switzerland*, Vasi's *New Picture of Rome* and Reichard's *Itinerary of France and Belgium or the Traveller's Guide through these Countries* (London, 1822). However, it is regrettable, as far as this thesis is concerned, that the narrative flow jumps from the end of the Grand Tour as seen in Eustace's *A Classical Tour through Italy* published in 1813 to 1836 with John Murray III and the first of Murray's *Handbooks*. It is precisely this time frame, in which Henry Fisher's career developed, which has been largely ignored or glossed over in other book history studies.

Inevitably, in any discussion on topographical prints and watercolours in the nineteenth century, one is going to come across a large Turner bibliography. The recent literature on Turner is extensive. To list them all goes beyond a literature review and the majority have been consigned to footnotes, however the following proved relevant and useful: John Gage, *J.M.W. Turner - A wonderful range of mind* (London, 1987) which is one of the best introductions to Turner and his art; James Hamilton, with contributions from Christopher Baker, Nicola Moorby and Jacqueline Ridge, *Turner and Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009) shows how Turner was influenced by Italy long before he travelled there by the pictures and prints of both foreign and British artists, the tastes and picture collections of the aristocrats returning from the Grand Tour as well as Turner's wide circle of patrons from differing backgrounds and classes; E. Helsinger, 'Turner and the representation of England' in *Landscape and Power*, edited W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago, 1994); Luke Hermann and Evelyn Joll (eds), *The Oxford Companion to J.M.W. Turner* (Oxford, 2001) has excellent cross-references and clear explanations regarding Turner and his engravings; The following are mostly regional studies: David Hill: *Turner in the North* (London, 1996); *Turner in Yorkshire* (London, 1980); *Turner on the Thames* (London, 1993); *Turner in the Alps* (London, 1992); Jean Luc Koltz, *J.M.W. Turner - The Luxembourg Watercolours* (Luxembourg, 1995); Jan Piggott, *Turner's Vignettes* (London, 1993); Cecilia Powell: 'Topography, imagination and travel: Turner's relationship with James Hakewill' in *Art History*, 5 (1982) pp 408-25; *Turner in the South - Italy* (London,

²⁴ Parsons acknowledges his source as Edward Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion. Richard Lassels and the Voyage of Italy* (Geneva, 1985), p.120.

1987); *Italy in the Age of Turner* (London, 1998); *Turner in Germany* (London, 1995); *Turner's Rivers of Europe, Rhine, Meuse and Mosel* (London, 1991) particularly where Powell links the watercolours of both Turner and Allom (see 5.17) to *Heath's Picturesque Annual - Belgium*; Eric Shanes: *Turner - The Great Watercolours* (London, 2000); *Turner's England* (London, 1990); *Turner's Human Landscape* (London, 1990); *Turner's Picturesque Views in England and Wales* (London, 1979); *Turner's Rivers, Harbours and Coasts* (London, 1981); Ian Warrell: *Through Switzerland with Turner* (London, 1995); *Turner on the Loire* (London, 1987); *Turner on the Seine* (London, 1999); Andrew Wilton: *Turner and the Sublime* (London, 1980); *Turner in Wales* (Llandudno, 1984); *Turner Abroad: France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland* (London, 1982); *Turner in Switzerland* (with John Russell) (Zurich, 1976). The 'Turner Prints Industry' is covered in many of the books mentioned above but the standard work was W.G. Rawlinson, *The Engraved Work of J.M.W. Turner* (London, 1909 and 1913). Anne Lyles and Diane Perkins *Colour into Line: Turner and the Art of Engraving* (London, 1989) was useful. As mentioned above *The Oxford Companion to J.M.W. Turner*, eds. Luke Hermann and Evelyn Joll (Oxford, 2001) has very useful sections on all aspects of Turner's engraved work.

Electronic Resources are listed in Section C of Select Secondary Sources.

Abbreviations

Institutions or individuals that are frequently referred to in the text or in footnotes are abbreviated as follows:

Allom (1873) Christie's studio sale

Allom (1983) Christie's South Kensington Sale

Allom (1985) Christie's South Kensington Sale

BBTI The British Book Trade Index

BL British Library, London

Bodleian Bodleian Libraries, Oxford

Brooks (1998) Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*

Brown (1982) Philip. A. H. Brown, *London Publishers and Printers c.1800-1870*

CHBB *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (2009)

COPAC National, Academic and Specialist Library Catalogue

Curwen Henry Curwen, *A History of Booksellers, the old and the new* (1873)

DNB *Dictionary of National Biography* (1899)

ESTC English Short-Title Catalogue

EUL Edinburgh University Library

Holloway (1977) Merlyn Holloway, *A Bibliography of nineteenth-century British topographical books with steel engravings*

Hunnisett (1980) Basil Hunnisett, *Steel Engraved Book Illustration in England*

Hunnisett (1989) Basil Hunnisett, *Illustrated Dictionary of British Steel Engravers*

Hunnisett (1998) Basil Hunnisett, *Engraved on Steel*

JPHS *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*

Maxted (1977) Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades 1775-1800*

NLI National Library of Ireland

NLS National Library of Scotland

ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)

Raven James Raven, *The Business of Books* (2007)

RIBA Royal Institute of British Architects

RUL The University of Reading Library

SBTI The Scottish Book Trade Index

SOLO Search Oxford Libraries Online

Timperley C.H. Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing*

Todd William B. Todd, *A Directory of Printers and others in allied trades, London and vicinity 1800-1840*

Illustrations

The Illustrations are reproduced in Volume II. The illustrations in the text are indicated using numbers in square brackets. All dimensions are given height before width. Dimensions refer to the whole of the printed image. If these dimensions include the lettering, this is specifically mentioned. Measurements cited in the text are given in inches in order to reflect contemporary usage. They are also given in millimetres in accordance with standard modern practice. As the engraved illustrations discussed are all in books, or from books, no mention is made of the states such as proofs, all are lettered impressions.

For permission to reproduce items in their collections acknowledgements are due to the Librarians or Curators of the following: Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford and John Johnson Collection, Oxford, shelfmark Booktrade London N subsect.Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon and shelfmark Crime 9 (24).

Sizes: Books and Plates

Books: The size of the books is given height before width, sometimes the sources, without being specific, instead of giving the dimensions of the page or leaf, give the height and width of the cover. However in the case of Fisher, Son & Co, being printers and publishers, their advertisements give the **format** of the book as **Folio** (measuring around 15 x 12 inches, 382 x 305mm), **Quarto** (measuring around 12 x 9 ½ inches, 305 x 241mm) and **Octavo** (measuring around 9 x 6 inches, 228 x 152mm). Occasionally mention is made of **elephant folio** (up to about 23 inches tall, 585mm), for example Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon's *Large Folio Bible* measures 17 x 11 inches (432 x 280mm). There is also the term **atlas folio** (about 25 inches tall, 635mm). In printing these terms originated in the size of the sheet of paper and how many times it was folded. Chapter Five and Appendix 3 give the sizes of Fisher's publications. Typical Quarto publications, but not necessarily uniform in their dimensions, include the large majority of Fisher's topographical works such as: Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* (11 ¼ x 8 ½ inches, 285 x 215mm), *Syria, the Holy Land and Asia Minor Illustrated* (11 x 8 ½ inches, 280 x 215mm), *France Illustrated* (11 x 8 ½ inches, 280 x 215mm), *Ireland Illustrated*, *Italy, Greece and the Rhine Illustrated*, *Scotland and Scott Illustrated*, *Chester, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham and Rutland Illustrated* etc. There are exceptions, for example, *Views in India, chiefly among the Himalaya Mountains* is advertised as **super-royal quarto** (about 13 ½ x 10 ¼ inches, 345 x 260mm), *Polynesian Researches* was designed as a cheap edition in **small octavo** (7 x 4 ½ inches, 178 x 115mm). Generally part-works are slightly larger in size as the publishers allow for the trimming or cutting down during binding of the leafs (pages), for example the numbers for *Lancashire Illustrated* measure 11 ¾ x 9 inches (300 x 228mm), and those for *Devon and Cornwall* are 11 ½ x 9 inches (292 x 228mm).

Plates: Robert Fisher in his letters to George Petrie about *Ireland Illustrated* (Appendix 4, Letter 4, MS.791 no. 193 and Letter 5, MS. 791 no. 194) refers to Landscape and Portrait illustrations as 'Long or wide subjects' and 'Upright, Tall or steeple subjects'. He fixes the size they are to be engraved for Landscape as 3 7/8 x 6 1/8 inches (100 x 154mm) and Portrait as 6 x 3 7/8 inches (154x 98mm). The illustrations in *Ireland Illustrated* and *Devon and Cornwall Illustrated* are organised with two images per page. The quarto format of most illustrated books required a Landscape plate c. 5 x 7 ½ inches (130 x 185mm) or 7 x 5 ½ inches for a portrait plate (185 x 130mm).

CHAPTER ONE

TOPOGRAPHICAL BOOK ILLUSTRATION BEFORE 1829

Introduction.

In order to put Fisher's production of illustrated topographical books with steel engravings into its historical context it is necessary to explore what went before, who were selling prints, what was the subject matter, what type of prints, whether in book or single issue, copper-plate or aquatint, who were the artists and engravers, where were the print-sellers located and was print-selling, as one commentator put it, 'a London thing'?

Prelude: the evolution of the illustrated travel book.

J. P. Anderson's *Book of British Topography* published in 1881 lists 14000 volumes in the British topographical section of the British Museum Library.²⁵ The Macmillan *Dictionary of Art* defines topography as a 'term for the description, mapping or other representation of the features of a given area... in art-historical terms, it is also closely associated with certain descriptive genres of landscape and townscape views, as represented in paintings, drawings and prints'.²⁶

The beginnings of the illustrated travel book in Britain grew from a substantial literature and tradition of prose topography that had begun before the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Educated men of the Tudor and early Stuart period such as John Leland (1503-52), William Camden (1551-1623), John Stow, best known for his *Survey of London* (1598) and many others went into great encyclopaedic detail about British topography such as Camden's *Britannia, sive Florentissimorum Regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et Insularum adjacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica Descriptio* (1586), originally written in Latin but translated into English in 1610, or William Harrison's *Description of Britain* (1577).²⁷

Edmund Spenser was inspired by Harrison's description of English rivers and embellished the topography with myths and personifications leading to his *Prothalamion* about the Thames

²⁵ Ronald Russell, *Guide to British Topographical Prints* (Newton Abbot, 1979), p. 128.

²⁶ Macmillan *Dictionary of Art* (London, 1996), p. 151.

²⁷ Mark Brayshay, (ed.) *Topographical Writers in south-west England* (Exeter, 1996) provides an excellent analysis of the development of topographical writing as a genre.

and London: 'Sweet Thames run softly till I end my song'. By the sixteenth century continental Renaissance themes such as the love of ruins, the love of landscape, myths of locality and the fascination of place names were grafted on to an English landscape. But these works were not illustrated. Edward Chaney has argued in his recent article on Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel (1585-1646), (sometimes known as 'the Collector Earl' as he patronised Van Dyck and Rubens and collected works by Holbein), that most artists were imported to England if and when required;²⁸ 'it was James I's 1604 peace treaty with Spain, which dominated most of Italy, that facilitated direct access to the Italianate taste that was comparatively familiar to the elites of the rest of Europe'.²⁹ Britain had been effectively isolated from the rest of Europe when Henry VIII broke with Rome. In his recent book *The Print in early modern England*, Malcolm Jones has suggested that England was not as insular artistically as is often thought. Jones is not primarily concerned with illustrated books but with numerical series of prints and traces their continental origins; nevertheless he makes a valuable observation that prints of German origin played a significant role on English iconography in Elizabethan and Jacobean England with a lesser role from the Low Countries, owing to Spain's annexation of the Netherlands in the 1560s. Jones argues that there seems to be very little French influence. However, contra Jones's thesis, there is evidence that biblical scenes and lives of Saints were made for export in the Parisian print trade centred around the Sorbonne.³⁰ Importantly Jones suggests that illustrated books in England were influenced by German Reformation works and that 'we may imagine German books and prints - in increasing numbers in the post-Reformation era - entering the country' through the depot of merchants of the Hanseatic League in London.³¹ Book illustration in England may have benefited in the sixteenth century and seventeenth centuries from the emigration of skilled engravers, both French and German protestants, fleeing persecution from the religious wars in Catholic Europe. Certain of the names of Fisher's engravers seem distinctly French Huguenot in origin such as Le Keux and Le Petit families. The religious illustrated subject matter of Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon's *Bibles* can be traced back to copies after the Old Masters with their intricate baroque mirror borders [figs. 52 and 53]. One source were the engravings in

²⁸ Michael Clarke, *The Tempting Prospect* (London, 1981), p.23, mentions that Arundel recruited Wenceslaus Hollar in Cologne in 1636 and engaged him in the capacity as a topographical draughtsman.

²⁹ Edward Chaney, 'Roma Britannica and the cultural memory of Egypt: Lord Arundel and the obelisk of Domitian' in David Marshall, Susan Russell and Karin Wolfe (eds.), *Roma Britannica - Art Patronage and Cultural Exchange in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (British School at Rome, 2011), p. 147.

³⁰ Jean Adhémar, 'La rue Montorgueil et la formation d'un groupe d'imagiers parisiens au seizième siècle' in *Le Vieux Papier*, fascicule 167, XXI, April 1954, pp. 25-34 and Jean Adhémar, *La Gravure des origines à nos jours* (Paris, 1979), p. 64, where Adhémar mentions the influence of the L'école de Fontainebleau school in disseminating quality Italian Renaissance themes by their engravings.

³¹ Malcolm Jones, *The Print in early modern England: an historical oversight* (New Haven and London, 2010), p. 383.

the *Bible Mortier*. Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon's *Grand Folio Bible* published in Liverpool in 1813 contains a direct reference to the Mortier illustrations in Adam Clarke's introduction:

It is fashionable now to have works of this kind adorned with plates... considerable expense has been incurred to get these designs well engraved and well printed... [The plates] they possess considerable merit, having been correctly copied from the celebrated Plates of Mortier.³²

The *Mortier Bible* was first published in 1700 in Amsterdam by the French-born Pieter Mortier (1661-1711) in both Dutch and French. The text was written by David Martin (1639-1721) and was illustrated with copper-plates by the engraver Jan Luiken (1649-1712). It became very well known for the quality of the 214 engravings.

However, portraits not topography formed the major part of the production of prints in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³³ Richard Sharp was for example able to illustrate his study on the Jacobites with 757 contemporary engraved images of 'extreme displays of political partisanship' in his study of *The engraved record of the Jacobite movement*.³⁴ This popularity of the portrait print would continue well into the nineteenth century and remained a staple product of print publishers including Henry Fisher, Son & Co.³⁵

During the sixteenth century copper engraving progressively replaced wood engraving for illustrations in books.³⁶ In the seventeenth century Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677) produced a series of etched views for Sir William Dugdale's publications including *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655-61), which as Michael Clarke notes, was the forerunner of the numerous eighteenth-century topographical publications.³⁷ Hollar is best known for a series of topographical views of London which were made before and after the Fire of London.³⁸ Hollar and his English follower, Francis Place (1647-1728), did contribute some topographical illustrations to John Ogilby's republication after Johannes Nieuwhof's original illustrations for *An embassy from the East India Company of the United Provinces to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperor of China* (1669 and second edition 1673). Hollar may have

³² *Holy Bible*, introduction Adam Clarke, published Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon (Liverpool, 1813), p.V, note 7. Illustrations by William Marshall Craig, engraved by T. Dixon.

³³ Arthur Hind, *Engraving in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1952-64); and Anthony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603-1689* (London, 1998) which provides an up to date survey of seventeenth century engravings.

³⁴ Richard Sharp, *The engraved record of the Jacobite movement* (Aldershot, 1996).

³⁵ Fisher's part-work series *The National Portrait Gallery of illustrious and eminent personages particularly of the nineteenth century, with memoirs by W. Jerdan with steel engravings after portraits by Sir Thomas Lawrence, Shee, Beechey, Copley, Owen, Philipps, Jackson, Hoppner, Harlow, Rochard etc. Each part contains three portraits, mostly selected from the finest original paintings in the possession of His Majesty, the Nobility, Gentry and Public Bodies*. By 1831 twenty two part-works had been published.

³⁶ Jean Adhémar, *La Gravure des origines à nos jours* (Paris, 1979), p. 57.

³⁷ Michael Clarke, *The Tempting Prospect* (London, 1981), p. 28.

³⁸ Hollar worked for the print publishers Peter Stent and John Ogilby in London. See examples in Malcolm Jones, *The Print in early modern England* (New Haven and London, 2010), *passim*.

contributed in spreading the practice of painting in landscape watercolours in England, as he made preparatory drawings and watercolours before engraving.³⁹ Early British travel accounts with illustrations include George Sandys (1577-1644) travels through France, northern Italy and Venice, Constantinople, Egypt, Palestine, Mount Sinai, Cyprus, Sicily, Naples and Rome. Sandys's *Relation of a Journey* went through nine editions between 1615 and 1673 and included 47 wood engravings.⁴⁰ It must be one of the earliest illustrated travel books. The diarist John Evelyn (1620-1706) also made landscape drawings on his foreign tours such as his view of Naples from Mount Vesuvius c. 1654.⁴¹

The early origins of topography have also been seen as military. Ann Payne states that the British Library's topographical drawings that survive from the sixteenth century make clear that the principal use found for such draughtsmanship was in the service of national defence.⁴² In its beginnings topography was a functional art, recording places with exactitude rather than with any aesthetic gloss. From its early days topography has been seen as a lesser art, useful certainly, but more akin to map making than art with a capital A. In 1689 a *Survey and Description of the Principal Harbours* of south-east England was drawn up for William III and by this time 'it was accepted by military and naval authorities that a reconnaissance drawing of a place made on the spot provided more reliable intelligence than any written accounts. Soldiers and sailors who were able to draw accurately were therefore of great value...'.⁴³ As Britain sent out expeditions and began establishing colonial outposts, so topographical draughtsmen became essential, for example accompanying the voyages of Captain Cook (1768-79) and Lord Macartney's embassy to China in the 1790s.

Drawing Masters were introduced into military and naval schools by the 1740s. One of the most distinguished was Paul Sandby who remained for nearly thirty years at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich.⁴⁴ However, Paul Sandby's series of watercolours and gouaches of views of Luton Park for John, 3rd Earl of Bute in the 1760s, as well as his more 'touristy' views of Windsor, reflect not only an interest in painting views and prospects but a rapprochement of topography and mainstream art which became more general throughout the

³⁹ Michael Clarke, *The Tempting Prospect. A social history of watercolours* (London, 1981), p. 12.

⁴⁰ My thanks to Edward Chaney for pointing out Sandys's *Relation of a Journey*. See *Roma Britannica*, *ibid.*, p. 155 for the illustration of *Travellers visiting the Pyramids and Sphinx* (fig. 11.9). This illustration was later adapted by Wenceslaus Hollar for his *Civilis Seditio* etching of 1643 (fig. 11.10).

⁴¹ Michael Clarke, *op. cit.*, illustrated on p. 22.

⁴² Ann Payne, *Views of the Past: topographical drawings in the British Library* (London, 1987), p. 18.

⁴³ Payne, *ibid.* p. 27.

⁴⁴ His duties were light, only one day's teaching a week, as noted by Michael Clarke, *The Tempting Prospect* (London, 1981), p. 39.

second half of the eighteenth century. The watercolours of Luton Park have remained in exceptional condition due to the fact that they had remained unseen in their original album until auctioned by Christie's in 1996. Surely this is a reflection of their status to the Bute family. It was fit and proper to commission views of their country seat but they were not intended for permanent display in the sense that they were considered topographical and remained in their album.⁴⁵ Michael Clarke makes a significant observation that 'the inevitable tie between watercolours and printmaking had been drawn closer by the introduction into England of the aquatint process, which Sandby had been the first to use with any great success' (see my Ch.1.4 for the technique).⁴⁶ A good aquatint is hardly distinguishable from a watercolour and was widely used in print publishing as will be seen later in the chapter. Throughout the eighteenth century views of country seats were popular and tended to become more sophisticated and less cartographic. One of the most important early illustrated topographical publications was *Britannia Illustrata* (published 1708-09) by Johannes Kip (1653-1722) comprising eighty copper-plate engraved views of country houses. The seats of the nobility were taken in what can be described as a birds' eye perspective, as if hovering above them and encompassing not only the house but the grounds or parkland surrounding them.

The topographical print trade also profited from the development of the Grand Tour. Canaletto's etchings of Venice produced in the 1740s were 'very proper for the ornamentation of Gentlemen's and Ladies' apartments and noblemen's halls...'⁴⁷ and Piranesi's etchings of Rome, *Vedute di Roma*, produced from 1747 until his death in 1778 were essentially designed for cultural tourists. However, the paintings of Claude, Poussin, Salvator Rosa or the Dutch landscape painters Ruisdael and Hobbema were more highly regarded. Canaletto's paintings were mere souvenirs compared to the high art which 'improved the mind' or 'excited noble sentiment'. Joshua Reynolds criticised in 1759 those painters who merely imitated nature by mechanical imitation and stated that a painter of genius cannot stoop to drudgery and that the grand style of painting requires this minute attention to be carefully avoided. Later Fuseli criticised 'views' and 'tame delineations of a given spot' and thought these paintings 'little more than topography', which were acceptable perhaps for an 'antiquary or the traveller'.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Bute Collection Sale, *Bute 5610*, Christie's 3 July 1996, Lots 103-114.

⁴⁶ Michael Clarke, *The Tempting Prospect* (London, 1981), p. 42.

⁴⁷ See *Canaletto and England*, edited M. Liversidge and Jane Farrington (London, 1993), p. 42.

⁴⁸ Quoted in *Canaletto and England*, *ibid.*, p. 36 and p.158.

Topographical views were the cultural baggage of the English Grand Tourists returning to England with visual souvenirs of their travels. Ingamells in his *Dictionary*, based on the Brinsley Ford Archive, identifies over six thousand British and Irish travellers who toured Italy in the eighteenth century.⁴⁹ Many Grand Tourists brought back originals or acquired copies of landscape paintings by Claude Lorrain, Nicolas Poussin, Gaspard Dughet (Poussin's brother-in-law) and Salvator Rosa. Over eighty Claudes and one hundred Rosas were in English collections by the early nineteenth century. Between 1711 and 1759, three hundred landscapes attributed to Poussin's brother-in-law Dughet had been sold at auction in England.⁵⁰ These paintings were often engraved and published by the leading print-publisher John Boydell, such as Richard Earlom's series of mezzotint etchings produced in the 1770s after Claude Lorrain's *Liber Veritatis*.⁵¹

1.1 England under threat.

One of the reasons given for the growth in interest in domestic travel and topography is that the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars put a temporary halt to the travels of the English Grand Tourists and restricted them for a time to the remoter parts of Great Britain such as the Lakes, Wales and Scotland.⁵² 1804 seems a good year to begin as there are a number of print-related phenomena which will be explored in this chapter, the first being that as England was cut off and blockaded, domestic tourism took off and resulted in a demand for topographical prints. In 1804 England was under severe threat of being invaded as Napoleon's armies were encamped along the northern coast of France around Boulogne.⁵³ Perhaps the use of the words 'Tourism' and 'Tourist' needs some explanation. Today they are in frequent usage and often they are used in a derogatory sense. The earliest usage of the word 'tourist' dates from the end of the eighteenth century, for example the *Oxford English Dictionary* records the use in a neutral sense from 1780 and Samuel Pegge, in *Anecdotes of the English Language* (1814), a book on new English usages, stated that 'A Traveller is now-

⁴⁹ *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701-1800*, compiled from the Brinsley Ford archive by John Ingamells (New Haven and London, 1997).

⁵⁰ See Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque* (Aldershot, 1989), p. 26.

⁵¹ Andrews, op. cit. p. 28, cites Boydell's 1779 *Catalogue Raisonné*, and his publication in 1777 of sepia mezzotints after Claude's *Liber Veritatis*, *Search for the Picturesque*. See also Timothy Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802* (New Haven and London, 1997) pp.177-180, 209-210 for Boydell.

⁵² See Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in 18th century Britain* (London, 2004) p.297: 'The 1790s ... it is often said that this was the point when domestic tourism began; when Englishmen deprived of the possibility of touring on the European mainland were forced to discover their own country'.

⁵³ James Hamilton, *Turner and Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009), p.27.

a-days called a Tour-ist'.⁵⁴ But ultimately 'tourist' derives from the Grand Tour, a term coined by Richard Lassels.⁵⁵

1.2 The Print-Publishers: John Boydell and Rudolph Ackermann.

That same year, 1804, saw the death of the print publisher John Boydell (1719-1804) who had popularized engravings of all types including English landscapes. He published copper-plate English views at a shilling a view. It has been calculated that Boydell published 4,432 copper-plate engravings in 48 folio volumes.⁵⁶ Boydell knew how to make money out of prints, in 1786 he was described by Edmund Burke as 'the commercial Maecenas' and by 1790 he became Lord Mayor of London.⁵⁷ Boydell was the leading print publisher of his day. Among some of the quality topographical works he published was Samuel Middiman's *Select Views in Great Britain* (John and Josiah Boydell, London, 1789 and reprinted 1812). An example is *Curclaze Tin Mine, Cornwall*, a copper-plate engraving after Joseph Farington and engraved by Samuel Middiman [fig. 1]. Middiman was an engraver following on in the tradition of excellence of engravers such as William Woollet (1735-1785), who was considered the ablest engraver of his time and engraved landscape works after Claude and Richard Wilson (1712/13-1782) for Boydell and was the first English engraver whose works were sold and admired on the Continent.⁵⁸ Middiman engraved 53 views after artists such as F. Wheatley, J. Barrett, J. Malton and Samuel Ireland. The advertisement for the 1812 edition stated that the original book was among the first to introduce a 'taste for the sublime scenery of Great Britain'. The subject matter of the copper-plate illustrations such as the Lakes and Mountains of Westmorland, Cumberland and Lancashire and indeed the very viewpoints, titles and locations were to be used by countless artists including the subject for this study, Thomas Allom's work for Fisher, Son & Co c.1829-35. Among Middiman's subjects plates 1, 21 and 29 were views of Lake Winandermere (sic). The advertisement continues that these areas were 'now the general resort of the Tourist' and drew the 'admiration of the Painter' but had been 'little noticed at the time of publication in its early numbers'. Unfortunately war with France and thus a decline in selling his prints abroad ruined Boydell's business.

⁵⁴ Quoted in James Buzard, *The Beaten Track : European tourism, literature, and the ways to 'culture' 1800-1918* (Oxford and New York, 1993), p.1 but Buzard misspells his name as 'Pegg'; *OED* entry 1971:3363, also see Stephen L. J. Smith, 'The measurement of global tourism: old debates, new consensus and continuing challenges' in *A companion to tourism*, eds. Alan A. Lew, C. Michael Hall and Allan M. Williams (Oxford, 2004) p. 26, where it is more fully mentioned under Pegge's *Anecdotes of the English Language; chiefly regarding the local dialect of London and its environs*, first published (ed. John Nicolls) London, 1803 and later as a supplement to Francis Grose's, *A glossary of provincial and local words used in England* (London, 1839).

⁵⁵ Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour* (London, 1998; rev. ed. 2000), p. 67.

⁵⁶ See Kenneth Smith, *Early Prints of the Lake District* (Carlisle, 1973), passim. For Boydell see Vivienne Painting, *The commercial Maecenas: a study of the life and principal business concerns of John Boydell*, unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Keele, 1996).

⁵⁷ Quoted in Vivienne Painting, *John Boydell* (London, 2005), p.8 and by John Pye, *Patronage of British Art* (London, 1845), pp 211-212.

⁵⁸ These engravings were much admired by Turner, see James Hamilton, *Turner and Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009), p.17.

His place was taken by Rudolph Ackermann (1764-1834) publisher of the finest colour-plate books from his impressive premises at 101 Strand known as 'The Repository of the Arts'.⁵⁹ In his autobiography published in 1850, John Britton, remembered Ackermann's premises in the Strand:

In 1825 Ackermann built the present large and commodious Repository at the corner of Beaufort Buildings from the designs of Mr. Papworth. This building occupies the site of five previous houses. It was brilliantly illuminated at night with gas, manufactured on the premises from an apparatus Ackermann had invented...producing the most vivid light. The first winter crowds of the nobility, gentry and artists were in the habit of visiting the place every night to see the splendid novelties.⁶⁰

Between 1808 and 1810, Ackermann published, in part form, *The Microcosm of London*, with letterpress by the watercolour artist W.H. Pyne, who also acted as Cicerone in Ackermann's Gallery. Ackermann originally intended to publish the *Microcosm* in 24 numbers at 7s. 6d per number but costs obliged him to raise the price to 10s. 6d and add two extra numbers. When it was published in book form it cost 13 guineas for the three volumes.⁶¹ The *Microcosm* comprised 104 large folio hand-coloured aquatint views of London after designs by Augustus Pugin (architectural settings) and Thomas Rowlandson (figures). In her study of A.W.N. Pugin, Rosemary Hill refers to the elder Pugin's *Microcosm* as a 'landmark in illustrated book production' whose plates 'set the standard by which aquatint has been judged ever since'.⁶² Other topographical books with aquatints followed issued in monthly parts, including *Westminster Abbey* (1811-12), published in sixteen monthly numbers and in two volumes at £15, the following two illustrations represent the *Henry VII* and *Henry V* Chapels, engraved by J. Bluck after designs by Frederick Mackenzie [figs. 2 & 3], *Oxford* (1813-14), *Cambridge* (1814-15), again issued in monthly parts with a total print run of one thousand copies priced at 12s. for the first 500, then 16s. a part and designs after A.W.N. Pugin, F. Mackenzie, W. Westall and F. Nash, and *The Public Schools* (1816) with 48 coloured aquatints after Westall, Pugin and Mackenzie and priced at seven guineas.⁶³ His monthly magazine also called *Repository of Arts* contained the best of Regency style and fashion. Many of the engravers had worked for Boydell. The elder Pugin and Mackenzie were hired by Ackermann essentially as architectural draughtsmen. Indeed as Rosemary Hill has pointed out when

⁵⁹ For Rudolph Ackermann see John Ford, *Rudolph Ackermann (1764-1834)*, ODNB, Oxford University Press, September 2004; online edition, January 2006 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/59>, accessed 31 January 2006). Also see Martin Hardie, *English Coloured Books* (London, 1906, re-published 1990), pp. 96-116.

⁶⁰ John Britton, *Autobiography* (London, 1850), p. 244.

⁶¹ Martin Hardie, *English Coloured Books*, op. cit. pp. 100-101.

⁶² Rosemary Hill, *God's Architect. Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain* (London, 2007), p. 38. The engravers were J. Bluck (54), J.C. Stadler (29), T. Sutherland (10), J. Hill (10) and one by Harraden.

⁶³ Martin Hardie, *English Coloured Books*, op. cit. pp. 106-107.

Pugin senior attended the Royal Academy, the lectures on architecture were given by the watercolour painter Thomas Sandby:

who, through his teaching, effected a revolution in architectural drawing. He encouraged his students to make not merely plans and sections of a design but to create an imaginary portrait of a building as it would look like in its setting. With this 'perspective view' patrons might begin to imagine how they would feel about living in it or walking past it, to consider qualities more abstract and subjective than elevations alone could convey... The perspective became an established feature in architectural drawing. It called for something of the illustrator's skill as well as an ability to paint in watercolour, and these were talents which many architects lacked.⁶⁴

A generation later the publishers Fisher and Virtue would employ both Allom and Bartlett precisely for their skills as architectural draughtsmen and watercolourists. Allom particularly had a talent whereby he could walk round a building and imagine it from all angles and place it in an attractive setting. Later this ability caught the attention of Sir Charles Barry who employed him on architectural perspectives for both the Houses of Parliament and Highclere Castle. (See Chapter 5).

Ackermann's aquatinted view books were expensive productions, measuring 14 x 11 ½ inches (355 x 292mm) in elephant quarto format and some were even larger in atlas quarto format measuring 16 ½ x 13 inches (420 x 330mm). Hardie noted that many of the aquatints were printed in two colours before being finished by hand which added to the cost of production.⁶⁵ In the early 1820s Ackermann produced a series of illustrated travel books including *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video* with 24 aquatints after E.E. Vidal; *Picturesque Tour along the Rhine from Mentz to Cologne* by Baron Johan Isaac von Gerning with 24 aquatints after C. G. Schutz (1758-1823) and *Picturesque Tour of the Seine* by M. Sauvan with 24 aquatints mostly after designs by J. Gendall. This was followed by *Picturesque Tour of the English Lakes* with 48 aquatints after T.H. Fielding. The art of Aquatint is dealt with in 1.4.

In 1823 Ackermann introduced the continental pocket-book or *Annual* to be given as a Christmas present or New Year gift which became a marketing phenomenon lasting for well on thirty years when he published the *Forget-Me-Not Annual* and two years later introduced steel engravings which set a fashion for illustrated *Annuals* and was quickly followed by Charles Heath's *Keepsake Annuals* (see next Chapter 2.15).

⁶⁴ Rosemary Hill, *God's Architect*, op.cit. pp.13-14.

⁶⁵ Martin Hardie, *English Coloured Books*, op. cit, p.107.

1.3 The fascination for the Lake District and the domestic Grand Tour.

Already by the mid eighteenth century, and significantly before the troubles of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, areas such as the Lake District were becoming accessible. Kenneth Smith makes a good point when he says:

So far as the Lake District is concerned the middle and upper class southerners were almost completely ignorant. They knew far more about the Continent, and even about the Indies and America, than about the northern counties of their own land.⁶⁶

Wordsworth was actually a rather late arrival in the Lake District. Earlier visitors included the poet Thomas Gray in 1769. Thomas Gray (1716-1771) was also a Grand Tourist and had made the Tour in 1739-41 with his old school and university friend Horace Walpole. Now he arrived in the Lake District at the mature age of 53 complete with a landscape glass to view the landscape like a picture.⁶⁷ Gray had intended to tour the Lakes with his friend Dr. Wharton, who fell ill, so Gray wrote a journal of his travels.⁶⁸ On his way to Scotland, Thomas Pennant made a visit to the Lakes in 1772 and included it in his book on Scotland.⁶⁹ But the artists had been there first, Anthony Devis in the 1750s, and William Bellers in 1751-52 who painted a series of 'Italianate' views. Six of these views were engraved in 1753-54 and later reissued by John Boydell in 1774. The next engravings date to around 1761 by Thomas Smith of Derby (died 1767) and these prints of northern English scenery were not only well engraved but intended to be sold individually and not in book form. Boydell published four engravings by Smith of the Lake District in 1767.⁷⁰ The same year a pamphlet by Dr. John Brown was published posthumously, *A Description of the Lake at Keswick, (and the adjacent country) in Cumberland*.⁷¹ Brown had been tutor to William Gilpin and his pamphlet is one of the first to admire the Lake District aesthetically. Brown was not an outsider but an educated local and had been brought up in the Lake District in his father's vicarage at Wigton, Cumberland. Brown comments:

the full perfection of Keswick consists of three circumstances, *Beauty, Horror and Immensity* united... but to give a complete idea of these three perfections, as they are joined in Keswick, would require the united powers of *Claude, Salvator and Poussin*⁷²

⁶⁶ Kenneth Smith, *Early Prints of the Lake District* (Lancashire, 1973), p.1.

⁶⁷ For Gray's Grand Tour see John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701-1800* (New Haven and London, 1997), pp.425-426.

⁶⁸ W. Mason, *The Poems of Mr. Gray* (London, 1775).

⁶⁹ Thomas Pennant, *A tour of Scotland, and voyage to the Hebrides; 1772* (London, 1774-76).

⁷⁰ The four prints are: 1. *A view of Derwentwater* 2. *A view of Thirlmere* 3. *A view of Windermere* 4. *A view of Ennerdale Broadwater*.

⁷¹ John Brown, *A description of the lake at Keswick (And the adjacent Country) in Cumberland* (Newcastle, 1767).

⁷² Quoted in both Peter Bicknell, *The picturesque scenery of the Lake District* (Winchester, 1990), p.24 and Kenneth Smith, *Early Prints of the Lake District* (Lancashire, 1973), p. 1. Bicknell uses Brown's quote for the title of his Exhibition Catalogue: *Beauty, Horror and Immensity: Picturesque Landscape in Britain 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1981).

By 1773 a regular coach service had begun between London and Carlisle.⁷³ Joseph Farington came in 1776. Farington was the first artist systematically to record the scenery of the Lake District with a view to publishing prints in book form.⁷⁴ His *Views of the Lakes* (1789)⁷⁵ contained twenty engravings and was, as Peter Bicknell describes, ‘one of the earliest of the many drawing-room-table books of Lake District Views’.⁷⁶

Thomas West in his *Guide to the Lakes* (1778) set out viewpoints or ‘Stations’ from which to see the landscape. He advocated the use of the ‘Claude Glass’ to enhance the scenery.⁷⁷

Wordsworth’s *Guide through the District of the Lakes* was published in 1810. It was intended as a guide as to ‘how to see’. This emphasis on how a person should perceive his or her surroundings produced a whole paraphernalia of objects invented from the mid eighteenth century onwards as aids to looking at the landscape such as the ‘Claude Glass’ - where one turned one’s back on the landscape to copy a reflected view deemed worthy of the artist Claude. Gainsborough used a ‘Camera Obscura’ to help in speedily and accurately drawing perspective. The Daniells used a ‘Camera Obscura’ to obtain an exact perspective in India between 1786-93. Two other inventions were patented in the early 1800s: the ‘Camera Lucida’ by Dr. W Hyde Wollaston in 1807 and in 1811 Cornelius Varley’s ‘Graphic Telescope’, both to aid in the drawing of topographical and architectural features. These developments, seem to foreshadow what was going to happen in the Print industry as demand propelled technology into finding solutions that helped to speed up and increase production, for example in 1828 the publisher Robert Fisher, frustrated by his artists’ lack of progress, recommends the use of a ‘Camera Obscura or Lucida’ to the Irish artist George Petrie.⁷⁸

This way of looking at the landscape was also reflected in the titles of topographical books. William Gilpin undertook his series of tours (1769-1774) which he published in 1786 as *Observations relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, made in the year 1772, on several parts of England; particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and West Moreland*. The

⁷³ Kenneth Smith, *Early Prints of the Lake District* (Lancashire, 1973), p.3.

⁷⁴ See Peter Bicknell, *The picturesque scenery of the Lake District* (Winchester, 1990), p.48.

⁷⁵ Joseph Farington, *Views of the lakes, &c. in Cumberland and Westmorland. Engraved from drawings made by Joseph Farington, R.A.* Published by William Byrne (London, 1789) A catalogue in the Bibliothèque Nationale Mitterand, 8-V-36-4376 (BIS) under the title *Miscellanea Curiosa... A Catalogue of a... collection of topographical prints and drawings ... offered for sale... by John Russell Smith, printed by C. and J. Adlard, Bartholomew Close* (London, 1849), item no. 3228, p.54 lists: *The Lakes - 14 highly finished Pencil and Indian Ink Drawings by Jos. Farington, R.A, comprising View near Ambleside, Culleth Force in Langdale, Hawkeshead and Esthwaite Water, Lancaster (2 views), Waterfall at Ambleside, Haws-water, Coniston Lake, Windermere (4 views), Bowness and Brougham Castle, on stout card-board, £1.5s.*

⁷⁶ Peter Bicknell, *The picturesque scenery of the Lake District* (Winchester, 1990), p.48.

⁷⁷ Peter Bicknell, *The picturesque scenery of the Lake District* (Winchester, 1990) includes a discussion of the ‘Claude Glass’ in Appendix 2 p.194.

⁷⁸ Fisher to Petrie 6 in Appendix 4, NLI, MS.791 no.195.

text was accompanied by aquatint views which, according to Bauer,⁷⁹ 'popularized the trip, the sites and the means of remembering'. It was the first book on the Lake District to be illustrated with aquatints. By the early nineteenth-century it had been satirised by the drawings of Rowlandson in the tour of Dr. Syntax (1809).

Scotland.

In his preface to *Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland* (London, 1788), Adam de Cardonnel wrote that at first he intended to produce his etchings on a larger scale but was induced to reduce the size for the convenience of travellers. He added that 'this work is intended for the world at large, and not for the learned'. The engravings are small (2 x 3 inches) and included on the same page as the text at the head of the page.

Rivers.

In the 1790s Samuel Ireland produced a number of river books with 'aqua tinta' copper-plate illustrations such as *Picturesque Views on the River Thames* (1792), *Picturesque Views on the River Medway* (1793), *Picturesque Views on the Upper, or Warwickshire Avon* (1795) and *Picturesque Views on the River Wye* (1797). The Wye Valley and Wales featured in many itineraries of the domestic grand tour. William Gilpin's quip 'If you have never navigated the River Wye, you have seen nothing' from *Observations on the River Wye and several parts of South Wales* (1782) has not quite got the resonance of the Grand Tour 'Vedi Napoli e poi Muori' but was appealing enough to put the Wye Valley on the domestic tourism map.

1.4 Aquatints.

By the 1790s aquatints were beginning to be used to illustrate travel books. Aquatint had been invented in France by Jean-Baptiste Le Prince around 1768 and had become popular with publishers looking for a method to produce colour plates that looked like watercolours and was cheaper and less time-consuming than copper-plate engraving. Their heyday was from 1770-1830 after which it was replaced by both steel-engraving and for colour by lithography. Some examples from different decades are Paul Sandby's *Views in Wales* (c. 1774); Thomas Malton's *A Picturesque Tour through the Cities of London and Westminster* (c.1791-1801), and William Westall's *Views of the Lake and Vale of Keswick*, 12 hand coloured aquatint plates engraved and drawn by Westall, with a text supplied (anonymously) by Robert Southey and published by Rodwell and Martin, London, 1820. T.H. Fielding's *Cumberland*,

⁷⁹ Gérard Bauer, *Le Siècle d'or de l'aquarelle anglaise 1750-1850* (Paris, 2001), p.12.

Westmoreland and Lancashire Illustrated was a large publication measuring 16 2/5 x 10 1/2 inches and contained 44 hand-coloured aquatint views of the 'Lakes, Antiquities and other picturesque objects' and was published by Thomas M'Lean in 1822 and printed by Howlett & Brimmer.⁸⁰ These aquatints are impressive and large and are splendid coloured examples from this period. A decade later Fisher, Son & Co would produce black and white steel engravings of the same subjects but in a smaller quarto format (see Chapter 5.4).

The outline of the design on an aquatint is usually etched onto the polished copper-plate first. Then the ground on the plate is sprinkled with resin particles either dissolved in alcohol or in dusted powder form and then heated. The plate is then bitten in acid which creates areas which will hold ink, varnish is used to stop out the lighter areas and the process is repeated to achieve the tonal variations required. Aquatints were printed in one or two coloured inks with further colours added by hand. Indeed one of the earliest jobs Turner had was to colour prints for John Raphael Smith at 2d a plate and also for Paul Colnaghi around 1792.⁸¹ By 1797 Turner made his first trip to the Lake District, during a tour of the north of England. Although he sketched the same places as everyone else he chose his own viewpoints rather than the ones recommended in the guide books.

It was in 1804 that William Gilpin died. This was the same year that William Blake wrote *Jerusalem* with its contrasting lines referring to 'England's green and pleasant land' and 'dark satanic mills'. And in the very same year of 1804 Edward Dayes died (1763-1804), the artist whom both Turner and Girtin copied at the house of Dr. Monro in the 1790s and whose manual was published in 1805, and the year that David Cox (1783-1859) was taking lessons from John Varley. By 1805 Varley's other pupils included 13-year-old John Linnell, William Henry Hunt aged 15, William Turner of Oxford aged 16 and Copley Fielding aged 18. They all lived at his house and paid £100 in fees per year. De Wint also came for lessons.⁸²

1.5 John Britton and popular topography.

In the year that Thomas Allom was born on 13 March 1804 in Lambeth Walk, John Britton (1771-1857) and Edward Wedlake Brayley (1773-1854) had already published the first five volumes of *The Beauties of England and Wales*, an example being the title page, vignette and

⁸⁰ source Bernard Shapero Rare Books, www.shapero.com, accessed 1/30/08 and for Fielding and Westall, Marlborough Rare Books Catalogue 197 (2003) no. 46, p.19 & no. 217 p.74. This publication is contemporary with Ackermann's *Picturesque Tour of the English Lakes* containing 48 coloured aquatints with 35 after T.H. Fielding.

⁸¹ See *The Oxford Companion to J.M.W. Turner* (ed. Evelyn Joll, Martin Butlin, Luke Herrmann) (Oxford, 2001), p.52.

⁸² C. M. Kauffmann, *John Varley 1778-1842* (London, 1984), p. 36.

frontispiece to volume II [figs. 4 & 5]. *The Beauties* were an attempt to popularise antiquarian interests with illustrations at an inexpensive price likely to appeal to a wider audience than the usual subscribers to county histories.⁸³ In 1800 the two friends became joint editors of *The Beauties of England and Wales* for the publishers Vernor and Hood. It was intended to be a six volume survey of the whole country appearing in monthly instalments over three years. Eventually *The Beauties of England and Wales* took twenty years to complete and ran to over twenty five volumes. The first six were jointly produced by Britton and Brayley. Between 8 June and 20 September 1800 they made a walking tour of 1350 miles. *Cumberland and Derbyshire* was volume III published in 1802.⁸⁴ Of the 30 copper-plate engravings eight were of Cumberland. It is revealing to compare three of these plates with ones executed thirty years later in steel-plate from designs by Thomas Allom from *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated*.⁸⁵ First *Derwentwater, Cumberland*, engraved by B. Compton from a drawing by Wm. Craig, dated 1 October 1801 and published by Vernor and Hood [fig. 6] with Thomas Allom's *Derwent Water, from the Castle Head, Cumberland*, engraved by S. Lacey, dated 1832 and published by Fisher, Son and Co. [figs. 7 & 8] Second *Carlisle Cathedral* engraved by S. Noble from a drawing by J. Britton after a sketch by R. Carlisle [fig. 9] with Allom's *Carlisle Cathedral*, engraved by J. Sands. [fig. 10] Third *Lanercost* (sic) *Priory* engraved by J. Storer from a drawing by Paul Sandby Munn (1773-1845) [fig. 11] with Allom's *Llanercost Priory*, engraved by W. Miller. [fig. 12] These three views clearly show the contrast between copper-plate and steel-plate engravings and the sharpness and architectural accuracy of the latter two views by Allom. In the copper engravings the lines are further apart and it looks cruder, whereas in the steel engraving the lines are so close one can hardly see them. The steel engravings also have a silvery look to them. A different view of the *Ruined interior of Lanercost Priory* by Thomas Hearne (1744-1817) was engraved by William Byrne in 1781 for *The Antiquities of Great Britain* (1786-1807).⁸⁶ Hearne also made a watercolour of the exterior of *Lanercost Priory*.⁸⁷

⁸³ John Britton began his career modestly as a cellarman at the London Tavern before his friendship with Edward Wedlake Brayley led him to writing. For John Britton see *ODNB*/3458 although curiously there is no mention made of Britton's pupils such as George Cattermole or William Henry Bartlett. For E.W. Brayley see *ODNB*/3302. Brayley also edited *The Works of Edward Dayes* in 1805.

⁸⁴ *The Beauties of England and Wales: or, delineations, topographical, historical, and descriptive, of each county. Embellished with engravings.* Vol. III Cumberland, Isle of Man, Derbyshire. London: Printed by Thomas Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Vernor & Hood, Longman & Rees, Cuthell & Martin, J. & A. Arch, W.J. & J. Richardson, and B. Crosby. 1802.

⁸⁵ Thomas Rose, *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* published by H. Fisher and P. Jackson (London, 1832) containing 215 plates, 188 after Allom.

⁸⁶ *The Antiquities of Great Britain* (1786-1807) were a collaboration between Thomas Hearne and the engraver William Byrne. 52 copper-plates were produced between 1778-1786 and 32 plates after 1796. The work was aimed at the educated, antiquarian readership. Timothy Clayton, *The English Print*, op. cit. p. 259 provides an illustration, no. 280 of the interior of Lanercost Priory.

⁸⁷ Agnews Catalogue no.20 (2000) Thomas Hearne, *Lanercost Priory*, pencil, ink and watercolour 9 x 10 inches.

In 1805 Britton began *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* (it seems the proprietors of the *Beauties* wished to restrict the illustrations of antiquities). The first four volumes took until 1814 and the fifth from 1818 to 1826. By 1826 the young William Henry Bartlett (1809-54) was already apprenticed to Britton (his apprenticeship lasted from 1822-29) and continued to work for him till 1831.⁸⁸ Bartlett was Britton's fourth pupil, George Cattermole being another.⁸⁹ Previous to Bartlett's engagement, Britton had employed an older generation of artists such as Samuel Prout, Frederick Mackenzie and Augustus Pugin. Early Bartlett drawings survive in the John Britton collection at Devizes in Wiltshire. Some of these drawings seem to be incorrectly dated, for example Bartlett's pencil, pen and sepia wash of the exterior of the *Vicarage, Brenhill* is given a date of c. 1810 (Bartlett was born in 1809). More certain in date (as Bartlett was now an apprentice), is a view of the *High Street, Marlborough* dated 11 September 1824 and a signed plan of *Chun Quoit, Morvah, Cornwall* drawn by Bartlett and dated 1826, however a pencil drawing of the *Stones at Avebury* dated September 1821 would make Bartlett 12 years old, a year before his apprenticeship with Britton.⁹⁰ An early Bartlett design *Sepulchral Monument* was engraved by W. Deeble for Oliver's *History of Beverly* published by M. Turner, 1 May 1828. [fig. 13]. Leeds Art Gallery have a collection of Bartlett drawings of Rivaux Abbey, Yorkshire; the early ones are dated 1826 through to 1831-33.⁹¹

In 1814 Britton began *Cathedral Antiquities of England* which took until 1835 to complete at a cost of £20,000. Each number of *Cathedral Antiquities* comprised six prints (four architectural and two sculptural) and cost twelve shillings. The following illustrations are of *Oxford* and of *Salisbury Cathedrals* engraved by J. and H. Le Keux after designs by F. Mackenzie [figs. 14 & 15]. This was a milestone in that it represented value for money with good quality engravings at an affordable price. Sweet claims that Britton was 'a synthesizer and an editor, summarizing the work of others, and packaging it in an attractive format for publication'.⁹² Despite being vaunted as the first complete survey since Brown Willis's *Survey of the Cathedrals* in 1742, *Cathedral Antiquities* was not a financial success and had to be cut short after 14 volumes.

⁸⁸ Alexander M. Ross, *William Henry Bartlett, Artist, Author and Traveller* (Toronto, 1973), p.6; For Bartlett see ODBN/1588; William Beattie, *Brief Memoir of the late William Henry Bartlett* (London, 1855) pp 1-52; Allibone's *Dictionary of British and American Authors* (London, 1859).

⁸⁹ Alexander M. Ross, *William Henry Bartlett, Artist, Author and Traveller* (Toronto, 1973), p.7.

⁹⁰ Wiltshire Heritage Museum, 41 Long Street, Devizes, Wiltshire.

www.wiltshireheritage.org.uk - Accession numbers DZSWS:1882.8093; 1982.7536; 1982.4744 and 1982.3206.

⁹¹ Leeds Art Gallery, LEEAG.1952.0009.0001-0007.

⁹² Sweet, *Antiquaries* (2004), *op. cit.* p.266.

By the early 1830s Britton's efforts were superceded by the cheap topographical publications issued by firms such as Fisher and Virtue. When Britton's *Picturesque Antiquities of English Cities* [fig. 16] failed in 1830 he complained of an 'age of cheap literature'.⁹³

This age of cheap literature had begun in the eighteenth-century and ironically, by the early nineteenth-century, Britton was a major contributor. Early eighteenth-century Antiquarian literature had been aimed at 'propertied prosperity', the gentry and the clergy, and was subscribed to. Books tended to appeal to the same audience as the Grand Tour and relied on their patronage to be published.⁹⁴ In the mid eighteenth-century Samuel and Nathaniel Buck completed a long and drawn out publishing project *Antiquities, or venerable remains of above four hundred castles, monasteries, palaces etc in England and Wales* (London, 1726-42) to illustrate the principal monuments and towns of England. It comprised of 420 plates of castles, abbeys and palaces in three volumes together with 83 views of cities. The large plates (11 ¼ x 18 ½ inches) were sold individually or they could be collected and bound into volumes. Buck's *Antiquities* appealed to more than a small select group of antiquarians. There was a potential new market among those interested in prints showing 'perspective views of the ruins of the most noted Abbeys and Castles of England'. Buck's *Antiquities* and other related publications could be said to mark the beginnings of a new interest in 'picturesque tourism', whether active or vicarious through the inspection of engravings. This type of publication was expensive and relied on a list of subscribers made up of the nobility, gentry and professional classes.⁹⁵ This may have given a certain exclusivity to this type of publication but the costs were high and relied on subscriptions.

In the 1760s illustrated topographical books abounded with titles such as *England Display'd*, *The Antiquities of England and Wales* and *The Complete English Traveller*. The illustrations were all copper-plate engravings, such as *View of Chirk Castle* from *England Display'd* [fig. 17] and, as Russell remarks, 'often lifeless and inaccurate...executed by overworked engravers trying to make sense of a quickly produced watercolour or wash drawing of a building or landscape they themselves had never seen'.⁹⁶ Already one has a sense of a more commercial

⁹³ T. E. Jones, *A Descriptive Account of the Literary Works of John Britton* (London, 1849), vol. II p.73.

⁹⁴ 'Dedicatory prefaces and names on a subscription list say more about the ties of patronage, however, than about the levels of interest among the nation's fashionable elite', Sweet, *Antiquaries* (2004), op. cit. p.165.

⁹⁵ See Andrew Kennedy, 'Antiquity and Improvement in the National Landscape: The Bucks' Views of Antiquities 1726-42' in *Art History*, XXV (2002), pp.488-99.

⁹⁶ Ronald Russell, *Discovering Antique Prints* (London, 1982), p.20.

edge to production fuelled by a greater public demand. Magazines and Periodicals with titles such as the *Universal*, *European*, *London*, and *Ladies* reproduced these engravings. By the 1770s *The Copper Plate Magazine* had started, in a modified form it was to be successful between 1792 and 1802, the very years of the conflict with France.

By the late eighteenth-century there was an increase in publishing and a different approach in how to publish. Francis Grose's *The Antiquities of England and Wales* came out as a serial publication in parts between 1772-1776 with a price of two shillings per part including four plates.⁹⁷ By 1803 a four-volume leather bound set cost eight guineas.⁹⁸ Serial publication made available 'works of antiquarianism, history and geography to a class of readers who would not otherwise have encountered them'.⁹⁹ Grose's engravings, such as this example of *Lanercost Priory* (1774) [fig. 18] were much smaller (4 x 6 inches) but similar to Bucks' *Antiquities*, whose *Lanercost Priory* (1739) measures 14 ½ x 7 ¾ inches [fig. 19] yet the Grose illustrations included text with the views. His aim was to popularise what had been up till then an expensive and exclusive field. Stephen Bending states that Grose produced over one thousand low-cost prints and argues that Grose was repackaging the old as the new whilst using the language of scholarship from an antiquarian past into a commercial present.¹⁰⁰ This popularization of topographical literature would continue to the beginning of the nineteenth-century. Topographical tourism led to a demand for topographical illustration. Publishers were quick to see a commercial advantage. The eighteenth-century gentlemanly and antiquarian exploration of England's 'polite' landscape gave way to a more commercial 'popular' demand. Limited print runs of expensive illustrated publications, that had taken years to compile, were now replaced by serial publications, often with less original text assimilated from other sources,¹⁰¹ and with print runs of many thousands and with better quality illustrations. The next leap forward was provided by the introduction of the new process of steel-engraved plates in the course of the 1820s. An early attempt in using steel for engraving was Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope* published by Longmans in 1821 and is said to be the first publication with steel engravings, engraved on hardened steel plates by Charles

⁹⁷ See John H. Farrant, 'The travels and travails of Francis Grose, FSA', *The Antiquaries' Journal*, 75 (1995) pp.365-80 and ODNB/11660.

⁹⁸ Sweet, *Antiquaries* (2004), op. cit. pp.318-19.

⁹⁹ Sweet, *Antiquaries* (2004), op. cit. p.311.

¹⁰⁰ Stephen Bending, 'Every man is naturally an Antiquarian: Francis Grose and Polite Antiquities' in *Art History* XXV (2002), pp.520-530.

¹⁰¹ Sweet calls Britton 'a hack writer' in *Antiquaries* op. cit. p.266 but it is better to see him as an assiduous assimilator of other people's ideas. For example in order to produce *The Beauties of England and Wales*, Britton would consult 20 -30 books per county (Sweet, *Antiquaries*, op. cit. p.326). Ian Maxted and Mark Brayshay, *Topographical writers in south-west England* (Exeter, 1996), p. 137, comment that 'although a considerable amount of topographical writing was published in the nineteenth century, surprisingly few of the authors added genuinely new insights'

Heath.¹⁰² Thick steel plates proved too difficult to engrave but experiments were made with softened steel by Charles Warren (1762-1823) and his plate maker Richard Hughes who developed plates suitable for engraving.

By the time steel engraving was introduced in the 1820s the word 'Picturesque' had lost any precise meaning.¹⁰³ In 1809, the year that W. H. Bartlett was born, Rowlandson had begun to satirise the sort of person going out to see the sights in his illustrations to *Dr. Syntax*.¹⁰⁴ By the early 1800s artists and tourists took to the roads on summer tours armed with guide and road books.¹⁰⁵

1.6 Foreign Views (1815-29).

The end of the Napoleonic Wars opened up travel on the Continent again.¹⁰⁶ What is significant is that travel was no longer restricted to just the Grand Tourists. This style of travel did indeed continue but one associates the nineteenth century with a different kind of tourist and tourism. However the same old guide books were being used; for example, the Rev. John Chetwode Eustace's *A Classical Tour through Italy*, first published in 1813, comprising four volumes, also available in a (not so small) pocket sized format (octavo), enjoyed a long life throughout the first half of the nineteenth-century. William Brockedon's *Illustrations of the Passes of the Alps* (1828-29) and his *A Traveller's Guide to Italy or Road Book from London to Naples* (1831) continued the Grand Tour tradition of beating a path to Italy but now there were more routes and better roads. For example Frederic Schoberl's *Geneva to Milan* illustrated book whose full English title is: 'Picturesque tour from Geneva to Milan, by way of the Simplon, illustrated with thirty six coloured views (aquatints) of the most striking scenes and of the principal works belonging to the new road constructed over that mountain' was published by Ackermann in his *Repository* (1818-20) and in book form in 1820 (quarto, first English edition). The plates were by Gabriel Lory (1763-1840) and Matthias Gabriel Lory (1784-1846) the majority of these views had previously been published in Paris in 1811, thus

¹⁰² Hunnisett, *Steel-engraved book illustration in England* (1980), op. cit. p.15.

¹⁰³ Malcolm Andrews concludes 'The late eighteenth-century search for the Picturesque ends with the recognition of its limitations' in *The Search for the Picturesque* (Aldershot, 1989), op. cit. p.236.

¹⁰⁴ The three tours of Dr. Syntax (1812, 1820 and 1821) featured the picaresque adventures of a naïve clergyman were published by Rudolph Ackermann with illustrations by Thomas Rowlandson and became best-sellers.

¹⁰⁵ In 1811 Turner went on a tour of Devon, Cornwall and Somerset for a book of views to be published by Cooke. He used Nathaniel Coltman's roadbook *The British Itinerary or Traveller's Pocket Companion throughout Great Britain*.

¹⁰⁶ However some people still managed to travel during the Napoleonic Wars, for example, William Wilkins, the future architect of the National Gallery, London, toured Greece, Italy and Asia Minor between 1801 and 1805. See William Wilkins, *The Antiquities of Magna Graecia*, published Cambridge, R. Watts at the University Press for Longman, 1807. This information comes from Marlborough Rare Books, *Catalogue 191* (2002), no. 386, p.105. Also Sir William Gell (1777-1836) who travelled to Greece and Asia Minor between 1801-11. See Gell's *Pompeiana: the topography, edifices and ornaments of Pompeii*, published 1817-32 (with early assistance by J.P. Gandy). Gell's dilettanti connection prompted Byron's verse in *English Bards*: 'Of Dardan Tours let dilettanti tell, I leave topography to classic Gell'.

indicating its origin and association with Napoleon's great engineering feat of the Simplon Pass. The following coloured aquatint illustration, *Vue de la Galerie des Glaciers*, by Mathias Gabriel Lory is taken from Frederic Schoberl's *Picturesque Tour from Geneva to Milan* which was published by Ackermann (London, 1820) [fig. 20].

Earlier, in a brief respite, the Peace of Amiens of 1802 had allowed some foreign travel. J.M.W. Turner took advantage and made his first continental tour between mid July and mid October to France, Savoy and Switzerland. In Paris he spent some valuable time in the Louvre making copies of some of the great masterpieces. The Louvre was essentially a brand new museum. It had been created in 1793 from both the former possessions of the Kings of France (*Mona Lisa*), or their aristocracy (*Slaves of Michelangelo*), confiscated during the French Revolution. The collection was increased by Napoleon, enriched with the 'Spoils of Italy' or, as the inscription in the Louvre put it, 'Les fruits de nos victoires' (Veronese's *Wedding Feast of Cana* and, temporarily, with sculptures including, the *Apollo Belvedere*, *Medici Venus*, the *Laocoon*, looted from the Vatican, and the *Moses* of Michelangelo).¹⁰⁷ The French Revolution had already brought vast numbers of art works to the market and some of the best came to England, in particular the Orleans collection (485 works sold in 1792) and the Calonne collection with 359 pictures. A consortium of aristocrats including the Duke of Bridgewater, Earl of Carlisle and the Duke of Sutherland employed an agent to purchase the works and having made their selection (94 were kept back) the rest were sold to cover their costs. In 1798 about 295 of these pictures were exhibited at Pall Mall and at the Lyceum in the Strand.¹⁰⁸

1.7 The Waterloo effect.

Throughout the 1820s, Captain Robert Batty of the Grenadier Guards (1789-1848), a veteran of the Battle of Waterloo and an amateur artist, travelled Europe on sketching tours. In a ten year period between 1822-32 he published numerous illustrated scenic works with copper-plate engravings including *French Scenery* (1822), *German and Welsh Scenery* both published by Rodwell and Martin in 1823, *Scenery of the Rhine, Belgium and Holland* (Jennings, 1826), *Hanoverian, Saxon and Danish Scenery* (1828)¹⁰⁹ and *Select views of the*

¹⁰⁷ See Mrs Gore's *Paris in 1841* for the 'Spoils of Italy' remark p.56 and James Hamilton, *Turner and Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009), p.19.

¹⁰⁸ see John Pye, *Patronage of British Art* (London, 1845) pp272-279. Ironically the Orleans collection contained some of Charles I's collection sold by order of the House of Commons in 1649.

¹⁰⁹ In part publication in 1828, see *Literary Gazette*, 19 January 1828, p.48 where part VI of Batty's *Hanover* is 'now ready', published by R. Jennings.

principal cities of Europe (1832). The following three illustrations are taken from Batty's *French Scenery* [figs. 21, 22 & 23].

Sir Walter Scott's first trip to the continent and to Waterloo was only two months after the battle; Byron visited the battlefield in 1816 and J.M.W. Turner in 1817. The Grand Tourists returned, but they were not just aristocrats, in fact once the Grand Tour became middle class, the likes of Byron, having exhausted Italy, looked further afield and left Europe to the rising middle classes. Those that now flocked to the continent had money, but not landed money, some had invested in the national debt, what the French would call 'rentiers' and had disposable income. There was a shift in patronage from the upper classes with their landed interests to the merchant middle classes. In Liverpool the wealthy merchants who derived their income in part from the slave trade did not appreciate William Roscoe, the author of the *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici* and briefly their local Member of Parliament, who had fostered and encouraged the arts to develop in Liverpool, advocating his views for the abolition of the slave trade. At the close of one exhibition Samuel Austin, artist and member of the Liverpool Academy, wrote to the engraver W.B. Cooke on 5 November 1824 - 'We have lately closed our (2nd) exhibition of modern masters, an indifferent one scarcely as good as the former. Our merchants are too busy with SUGAR etc to attend to trifles'.¹¹⁰ A concrete example of the changing times was the departure from the newly improved Southill Park by the cash-strapped aristocratic Byng family and the arrival of the new owners who had made their fortune supplying beer to London - the Samuel Whitbreads. As Samuel Whitbread put it 'The poor Byngs when they left Southill the paint had hardly dried on the walls'.¹¹¹

Travel or the possibility of travel fuelled the reading public, spreading beyond the educated middle classes. This was true not only of England but also of continental Europe. In countries formerly occupied or invaded by Napoleon's Armies such as Austria, there was an awakening of a national identity and interest in their past.¹¹² Even in France there was an awareness of 'picturesque travel' with the publication from 1820 onwards of Baron Isidore Taylor's *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*. This pre-Victorian period, that covered both the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars and its direct aftermath, (spanning late

¹¹⁰ Albert J. Mott, 'On books published in Liverpool' (a paper read 10 November, 1859), from *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1860-61* (Liverpool, 1861), p.16 note 18. Hornby Library, Liverpool City Libraries.

¹¹¹ Comment made to me by Samuel Whitbread the fifth on a visit to Southill Park. Yet Southill is shown much earlier in a print by William Henry Toms after Thomas Badeslade's view of Admiral Torrington's Southill: *South Prospect of Southill in the County of Bedford* - see illustration in Timothy Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802* (New Haven and London, 1997), no. 169, p.155.

¹¹² Ulla Fischer-Westhauser, *Osterreich in alten Ansichten* (Vienna, 2005), pp14-15, 'in the course of the Napoleonic Wars and occupations, there was a gradual awakening of national consciousness that was reflected in an interest in the loveliness of one's own country'.

Georgian and Regency in England c.1790-1820s) also saw the rise of the romantic poets and novelists: Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, Shelley, Byron and the novels and poetry of Sir Walter Scott. Here there seems to be a link or interrelation between the Romantic novel, Romantic poetry and the Romantic tour. George Dekker, in his study of Ann Radcliffe, pointed out the link between the descriptive techniques of what he has defined as 'Early-Romantic Poetry' and the late eighteenth-century tour books.¹¹³ Indeed Radcliffe had been a tourist to the Continent and to the Lake District as shown in her book *A Journey made in the Summer of 1794 through Holland and the Western frontier of Germany, with a return down the Rhine to which are added observations during a tour to the Lakes of Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland*. The writings of Scott, Byron and Wordsworth stimulated tourism. At first, because of war, this tourism was limited to England, Scott's *Marmion* (1808) and *The Lady of the Lake* (1810) encouraged visitors to Scotland. Then in 1815 peace finally came after twenty six years, and there was a rush to the continent.

In 1826 Mary Shelley (1797-1851), in 'The English in Italy',¹¹⁴ recalls her 1814 continental tour and comments that now a whole generation have crossed to Calais like 'Norwegian rats'. She adds that the Anglo-Italians are ... 'connoisseurs in paintings and frequenters of drawing-rooms; but the inferior classes of their fellow beings possess no interest for them'.¹¹⁵ Shelley published anonymously in 1817 a *History of a six weeks' Tour through a part of France, Switzerland, Germany and Holland with letters descriptive of a sail round the Lake of Geneva and the glaciers of Chamouni* (sic).¹¹⁶ There is a difference in tone between the visits in the 1790s of the 'High Romantics' typified by Byron's *Childe Harold* (1812-18) and the Gothic novels like Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) or Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818), and the new visitors to the continent in the period after 1815. Coleridge's 127 line poem of 1824 *The Delinquent Travellers* satirises the rush to the continent:

But O, what scores are sick of Home,
 Agog for Paris or for Rome !
 Yet since grim War has ceas'd its madding,
 And Peace has set John Bull agadding...
 What ? Not yet seen the coast of France !...
 Keep moving ! Steam, or Gas, or Stage,
 Hold, cabin, steerage, hencoops's cage - ...
 Tour, Journey, Voyage, Lounge, Ride, Walk,
 Skim, Sketch, Excursion, Travel Talk... (line 19)

¹¹³ George Dekker, *The Fictions of Romantic tourism: Radcliffe, Scott and Mary Shelley* (Stanford, 2005), chapter 3, p. 71.

¹¹⁴ Mary Shelley, 'The English in Italy', in *Westminster Review* VI (October 1826), pp. 325-41.

¹¹⁵ Mary Shelly, 'The English in Italy', op.cit p. 333.

¹¹⁶ My attention was drawn to Mary Shelley's travels by Clarissa Campbell Orr, in 'Mary Shelley's Rambles in Germany and Italy', *the Celebrity Author and the Undiscovered Country of the Human Heart*, Conference at Anglia Ruskin University, 12-14 September, 1997. Access <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~scat 0385/rambles.html>

For move you must ! 'Tis now the rage,
The law and fashion of the Age.
If you but perch, where Dover tallies,
So strangely with the coast of Calais,
With a good glass and knowing look,
You'll soon get matter for a book ! (line 25)

A few years later in 1831 *Arnold's Magazine of the Fine Arts* reported on the Exhibition of the Society of Painters in Watercolours and commented:

The rich stores of topographical material which have been imported by the painters of the British school since the Peace of 1816, have contributed largely to the highest mental qualifications of the present enlightened epoch. *Almost everyone of means has become a foreign tourist* [my italics]; and amongst the vast number, many who indulge in the recollection of pleasurable associations connected with certain scenes abroad, take pleasure in beholding their pictorial delineation. Hence the popular feeling for subjects of foreign topography.

The *Magazine* adds that the growing taste for such compositions has resulted in British artists going abroad.¹¹⁷

Much of Mary Shelley's output in the 1830s was travel writing in the illustrated *Annuals* and *Keepsakes* which allowed her largely female readership an opportunity for vicarious travel or 'armchair romanticism' in their homes whilst perusing the illustrations.¹¹⁸ Quite coincidentally in 1823 Mary Shelley bought her house, 5 Bartholomew Place, London from William Henry Bartlett's father.¹¹⁹ It was not just the *Annuals* which proved popular in the 1830s as there was also a boom in illustrated travel books. By the 1840s the illustrated travel book was joined by the illustrated novel and particularly those of Charles Dickens, illustrated by Hablot Browne, George Cruikshank and George Cattermole. One can see how the parts-issue serial idea was taken up again in the publication of Dickens' novels (beginning with *Pickwick Papers* in 1836-37), structured around the plates, and in the development of illustrated series such as the illustrated novels of Sir Walter Scott started in the late 1820s.¹²⁰ Today it is these novels that tend to be remembered and written about and the illustrated topographical serial publications have been forgotten or broken up, the image separated from the text, its value resting in a single plate and not as a comprehensive whole.

1.8 Turner and Italy.

¹¹⁷ *Arnold's Magazine*, 1831, vol. I no. 6, p. 509.

¹¹⁸ Mary Shelley's writings for the *Annuals* included: 1829 *Keepsake* (2 stories anonymously), 1830 *Keepsake* (3 stories by the 'author of *Frankenstein*'), 1831 *Keepsake* (2 stories), 1832 *Keepsake* (1 story), 1833 *Keepsake* (1 poem and 2 stories), and for the *Keepsakes* of 1834, 1835, 1837, 1838 and 1839.

¹¹⁹ Alexander M. Ross, *William Henry Bartlett*, op. cit. p.9-10.

¹²⁰ See *The Victorian Illustrated Book*, edited by Richard Maxwell (Charlottesville and London, 2002), introduction p.xxiii.

During the period that Lord Byron and his entourage were travelling in Central and Northern Italy in 1816-17, James Hakewill (1778-1843) was taking 300 pencil and 60 watercolour sketches of Italy.¹²¹ In 1818-20 Hakewill's *Picturesque Tour of Italy* appeared as a serial publication.¹²² It was illustrated with copper-plates engraved from watercolours painted by J.M.W. Turner, based on sketches by Hakewill, before Turner had set foot in Italy. Nicola Moorby has written that comparison of a number of Turner's slightly later 1819 sketches with those of Hakewill show that in many locations Turner frequently adopted the same viewpoint as that chosen by Hakewill. Nicola Moorby says that:

A general survey of the sketchbooks therefore provides an indication of the hierarchy of places which Turner found most aesthetically rewarding. This list broadly corresponds with the inherited structure of the traditional Grand Tour¹²³

Turner's first tour of Italy was in 1819 when he went to Turin, Como, Venice, Rome, Naples and Florence. Turner no longer needed the sponsorship of noblemen and his fortune was to come from travel book illustration.¹²⁴

Turner was 44 years old before he went to Italy. He had been well prepared if not inspired by what he had seen in England, first the fact that the Royal Academy placed emphasis on the experience of Classical and Renaissance Italy and second the large number of collectors and collections in England containing the works of artists such as Titian, Veronese, Claude Lorrain, Poussin, Salvator Rosa and Piranesi. Among those who had preceded Turner to Italy was Richard Wilson, who had spent seven years in Italy, and Turner was known to have been fascinated by the prints of William Woollet, made after the paintings of Wilson, published by Boydell in the 1760s and 1770s, as well as Richard Earlom's series of mezzotint engravings based on Claude Lorrain's *Liber Veritatis* published by John Boydell between 1774-76.¹²⁵ Before Turner went to Italy he made small thumbnail sketches with place names after *Select Views in Italy* (1792-96) by John Warwick Smith, William Byrne and John Eames.

Those making tours to Europe in the 1820s included Bonington to Italy in 1826 and John Frederick Lewis who undertook his first European tour, aged 22, in 1827, starting in June at

¹²¹ James Hakewill (1778-1843) see Cecilia Powell 'Topography, imagination and travel: Turner's relationship with James Hakewill', *Art History*, 5 (1982) pp 408-25. *ODNB*/11888.

¹²² published by John Samuel Murray (1778-1843). It was issued in parts and was one of the Murray firms first travel publications.

¹²³ Nicola Moorby 'An Italian Treasury: Turner's Sketchbooks' in *Turner and Italy*, edited by James Hamilton (Edinburgh, 2009), p.114.

¹²⁴ After 1826 all the plates after Turner were engraved on steel except some large single plates. In the 1830s Turner produced watercolour drawings for some 300 steel engravings. Turner's output from 1827-37 was enormous and coincided with the introduction of steel engravings. See Hermann and Joll, *Oxford Companion to J. M. W. Turner* (Oxford, 2001) pp. 92-93 and Eric Shanes, *Turner: The Great Watercolours* (London, 2000), pp. 28-30.

¹²⁵ James Hamilton, *Turner and Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 14-17. The mezzotint was engraved over etched outlines. Richard Earlom (1743-1822). Earlom's mezzotint prints after Claude would have introduced Claude to a wider public.

Bruges and travelling along the Rhine and into Switzerland then into Italy ending at Venice in October.

1.9 Beyond the Grand Tour.

In the 1820s to 1840s artists, authors and travellers went beyond the standard 'Grand Tour' countries as they explored Spain, Greece, Egypt, Turkey, the Holy Land and beyond. In the 1830s and 1840s publishers of inexpensive illustrated picture-books such as Fisher and Virtue started a series of foreign topographical view-books. Their timing was right; there was interest among the public, the technology was there to produce thousands of images thanks to the innovative reproduction method of steel-engraving and they could either pick out manuscripts from authors who had already travelled to foreign parts or commission their own artists (amateur or professional) and authors to bring back sketches and descriptions.

Those going further afield included the wealthy Robert Hay (1799-1863), aged 25, doing the Grand Tour in 1825 accompanied by the artist Joseph Bonomi the younger (1796-1878) whom he had met in Rome. At Malta Bonomi introduced Hay to his friend Frederick Catherwood (1799-1854) who had already visited Greece, Turkey, Egypt and Palestine. Catherwood showed Hay the portfolio of his work in Egypt which persuaded Hay to go to Egypt.¹²⁶ Some years later John Frederick Lewis would also migrate to Egypt (1841-51). Whilst engaged by Fisher for sketches for *Syria, The Holy Land and Asia Minor Illustrated* Bartlett met with Catherwood and Bonomi near Baalbec in 1834.¹²⁷

Using Hay as an example, the old ties of sponsored travel were not entirely absent and there is an overlap between eighteenth and nineteenth century methods of patronage. In 1817, 1818 and 1820 John Sell Cotman travelled to Normandy. The antiquarian Dawson Turner, who sponsored publication of *The Architectural Antiquities of Normandy* in 1822, employed him.¹²⁸ Lord Francis Egerton helped finance William James Muller's (1812-45) travels to the Middle East and on his return Muller presented him with an album of his watercolours.¹²⁹ In his discussion of the writer William Roscoe of Liverpool (1753-1831), John Hales mentions

¹²⁶ source: 'The Lost Portfolios of Robert Hay' by Jane Waldron Grutz in *Saudi Aramco World*, March/April 2003, vol. 54, no. 2, pp. 2-11, also see www.saudiaramcoworld.com - Robert Hay's *Illustrations of Cairo* was published by Tilt and Bogue in 1840 but Hay did not recoup the £2000 he paid for publication. 49 volumes of drawings including many by artists in Hay's employ such as Bonomi and Catherwood are in the British Library, Add. MSS 29812-60.

¹²⁷ William Beattie, *A Brief Memoir of W.H. Bartlett* (London, 1855) reprinted in Alexander M. Ross, *W.H. Bartlett, Artist, Author & Traveller* (Toronto, 1973), p. 114.

¹²⁸ Dawson Turner, *Account of a tour in Normandy; undertaken chiefly for the purpose of investigating the Architectural Antiquities*, 2 vols, 50 etched plates mostly after John Sell Cotman, 19 text illustrations, printed for John and Arthur Arch (London, 1820). Marlborough Rare Books, *Catalogue* (2002) p. 96, suggest the three tours were in 1815, 1818 and 1819.

¹²⁹ Agnews Annual Exhibition 1976, no.220, p.28.

that 'an age of patronage was dying; writers and artists were finding it increasingly hard to get support'.¹³⁰ Yet it must also be remembered that even in the mid nineteenth-century, an artist like Edward Lear (1812-1888), whose technique was actually quite old-fashioned for his time, would seek old-fashioned sponsorship throughout his career, and even Whistler was sponsored when he went to Venice.¹³¹ However if one examines the life of an artist such as John Varley (1778-1842) there is definitely a change in patronage during the course of his career. By 1840-42 there is hardly a title among the purchasers. There is a shift in the balance of clients from upper to middle class patronage. In the 1830s Varley turned away from exhibitions to dealers in order to sell his watercolours, indicating yet another change in patronage for artists. By the late 1830s he moved away from topographical subjects to imaginary landscape composition. This change in patronage coincided with a large increase in population between 1800 and 1842, as C.M. Kauffmann noted, from 8.7 million people working and living in a basically agrarian country to 15 million in an industrial and urban society.¹³² The new patrons for some of the artists would be the publishers, particularly those clustered around Paternoster Row.

1.10 New Vocabularies.

There were also changes in the vocabulary of landscape description. Lear spoke frequently of Claude and Poussin-like pictures when contemplating a landscape and used the word 'picturesque' as a commonplace term of praise. Picturesque could now apply to towns: Thomas Malton published in 1791-1801 *A Picturesque Tour through the Cities of London and Westminster* with 100 aquatinted plates. Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg produced *The Picturesque scenery of Great Britain* (1801) with six aquatint plates and *The Romantic and Picturesque Scenery of England and Wales* with eighteen hand coloured aquatint plates engraved by William Pickett and coloured by John Clarke published in 1805. In 1820 Longman's published *Picturesque views of the City of Paris* by Frederick Nash. In 1828 Britton edited *Picturesque Views of the English Cities* with drawings after G.F. Robson. Joseph Hardy produced *A Picturesque and Descriptive Tour in the Mountains of the High Pyrenees* with twenty four hand-coloured aquatint plates published by Ackermann in 1825. The emphasis was now on the picturesque with a small 'p'. Often in the titles to books the

¹³⁰ John Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance*, introduction by Edward Chaney, 4th edition (Oxford, 2005), p.74.

¹³¹ See Vivien Noakes, *Edward Lear, The Life of a Wanderer* (4th Ed. London, 2004) and passim Vivien Noakes, *Edward Lear 1812-1888*, catalogue of the Royal Academy Exhibition (London, 1985) and Vidya Dehejia, *Impossible Picturesqueness: Edward Lear's Indian Watercolours 1873-75* (New York, 1989), introduction p. xiii. Whistler was commissioned to make etchings of Venice by the Fine Art Society in 1879. See Margaret MacDonald, *Palaces in the Night: Whistler in Venice* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2001), p. 11.

¹³² C.M. Kauffmann, *John Varley* (London, 1984), pp. 33-35.

emphasis is on how the tourist should perceive his surroundings. In his survey of British Topography with steel engravings Holloway lists 168 titles and, of these, the word History or Historical appears in the short title to the work 42 times, Picturesque 16, Illustrated 17, Views 13 and Scenery 15 times.¹³³ The engraver and publisher Charles Heath used the term for a series of *Picturesque Annuals* in the 1830s and 1840s.¹³⁴ As early as January 1825 Heath had issued a prospectus for a series of engravings described as *Picturesque Views in London and its Environs* but this work was never published.¹³⁵ In *Lancashire Illustrated* published by Henry Fisher in 1831 the term 'picturesque' comes up 15 times.¹³⁶ John Britton, writing in 1830, tackles the term 'picturesque', as then used, head-on when justifying the title to his latest publication in his introduction to *Picturesque Antiquities of the English Cities*:

The word Picturesque, as applied to the antiquities of English cities, it is presumed, will be already recognised and understood by readers who are familiar with the works of Gilpin, Alison, Price, and Knight. It has become not only popular in English literature, but as definite and descriptive as the terms grand, beautiful, sublime, romantic, and other similar adjectives. It may be loosely and indiscriminately applied - it may fail to convey clear, precise, and forcible images to some minds: but still in speaking, or writing about scenery and buildings, it is a term of essential and paramount import. Hence it has been chosen for the title of the present work.¹³⁷

By the 1830s the term Picturesque had crossed the Channel to France and was being loosely applied to such general titles as: *Histoire Pittoresque de l'Angleterre et ses possessions dans les Indes* (1834) and *La France Pittoresque* (1835).¹³⁸ The publisher George Virtue used the term for the French translations of Beattie's *Switzerland Illustrated* (1836), *Scotland Illustrated* (1838) and *Waldenses Illustrated* (1838): *La Suisse Pittoresque*, *L'Ecosse Pittoresque* and *Les Vallées Vaudoises Pittoresques* and added *L'Amerique* and *Canada Pittoresque* for Bartlett's *American and Canadian Scenery*. Not to be left out, Fisher translated *Views in India* into *Vues Pittoresques de l'Inde* (c.1835).

Concluding Pointer.

As Francis Klingender remarked 'The first thirty years of the nineteenth century were the critical period of the Industrial Revolution. The old timber economy was replaced by an age

¹³³ Merlyn Holloway, *A Bibliography of nineteenth century British Topographical Books with Steel Engraving* (London, 1977).

¹³⁴ *The Picturesque Annual* for 1832 had 24 plates by Clarkson Stanfield of North Italy, Tyrol and the Rhine. Continued in 1833 with 24 plates by Stanfield of the Rhine, Belgium and Holland. Those for 1841 and 1842 had 16 plates after Allom, of Belgium and Paris respectively. For Clarkson Stanfield see *ODNB*/26234.

¹³⁵ Eric Shanes, *Turner's Picturesque Views of England and Wales* (London, 1979), p.11.

¹³⁶ W. H. Pyne, D. Wylie and others, *Lancashire Illustrated from original drawings by S. Austin, J. Harwood and G. & C. Pyne*. Published Henry Fisher, Son & Jackson (London, 1831). William Henry Pyne 1769-1843, is the same 'cicerone' who worked for Ackermann on the *Microcosm of London*, by 1830 he was imprisoned for debt and died in poverty.

¹³⁷ John Britton, *Picturesque Antiquities of the English Cities* (London, 1830), p.v.

¹³⁸ Full title: *Histoire Pittoresque de l'Angleterre et ses possessions dans les Indes jusqu'au la reforme de 1832* by M. Le Baron de Rajoux (Paris, 1834) and *France Pittoresque* by A. Hugo (Paris, 1835).

of iron and coal '.¹³⁹ In the realm of book production copper-plate engravings were replaced by the far harder and more durable steel-plates which increased the potential to produce more copies. This new means of mechanical reproduction made it easier to produce more copies which led to mass consumption by a growing population of middle class readers.

During the eighteenth century British engraving came of age. John Boydell, who introduced engraved English art to the Continent, had been a pioneer in recognizing the economies of scale but had paid the price of being ahead of his time and suffered bankruptcy at his moment of glory with his ambitious scheme for *The Shakespeare Gallery*. The next chapter underlines how new technological improvements such as steel-engraving and stereotyping, which allowed for much longer print runs, were applied to serial publication and how, by this means, 'extended sale' made commercial sense.

¹³⁹ Francis Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1947), p.85 ff.

CHAPTER TWO

STEEL ENGRAVING AND SERIAL PUBLICATION

2.1 Advantages of Steel over Copper.

Up until the 1820s the metal plate used for engraving was copper. Copper was easy to work but its softness meant that there was a limit to the number of prints that could be taken from a plate before it wore down. C.F. Bell remarked that only the engravers' proofs did justice to Turner's designs and Turner himself commented when buying back the copper plates of the England and Wales series, 'no more of my plates shall be worn to shadows'.¹⁴⁰ The first Turner to be engraved on copper was *Rochester* published in the *Copper-Plate Magazine* on 1 May 1794. W. G. Rawlinson in his comprehensive survey of Turner's engravings lists 336 works on copper after Turner.¹⁴¹ Until the early nineteenth-century copper was almost exclusively used for book illustration. However there was a disadvantage in that the number of copies was limited because the abrasive action of the plate printer's buff and the action of printing broke down the fine detailed work on the copper-plate after only 100 impressions.¹⁴² In general the number of impressions taken from a copper-plate were probably higher at around 200-500 impressions, although Hunnisett considers the figure to be 800 (see below). Thus in the late 1820s steel started to replace copper for many of the book illustrations.¹⁴³ There were economic advantages as steel is much harder wearing than copper, consequently many thousands of impressions could be produced without significant deterioration to the plate compared to the several hundreds available from the copper-plate. This not only reduced the cost of producing illustrated books but increased the number of books produced at an attractive price to the public.

2.2 Steel-facing.

Rather confusingly another method termed 'steel-faced' copper plates (or a copper-plate steel-faced for printing) was introduced in the 1850s after the period under consideration of this thesis (1829-45).¹⁴⁴ A wafer thin coating of iron (not steel) was put onto an engraved or

¹⁴⁰ C. F. Bell, 'Turner and his Engravers' in *The Genius of Turner* (London, 1903) and for Turner's remark see Eric Shanes, *Turner's Picturesque Views in England and Wales 1825-1838* (London, 1979), pp. 14-15.

¹⁴¹ W. G. Rawlinson, *The Engraved Work of J. M. W. Turner* (2 vols., 1908 and 1913). Also quoted in *The Oxford Companion to J.M.W. Turner* (ed. Evelyn Joll, Martin Butlin and Luke Hermann) (Oxford, 2001), p. 93.

¹⁴² See Iain Bain's prefatory note in Frederick. W. Faxon, *Literary Annuals and Gift books. A Bibliography 1823-1903* (London, 1912 and reprinted 1973 with supplementary essays by Eleanore Jamieson and Iain Bain), p.19 ff.

¹⁴³ Holloway, *Bibliography* op. cit. p.V of the Preface says 'by common usage the term 'steel engraving' has come to mean what is more accurately described as line engraving upon steel'.

¹⁴⁴ Bamber Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints* (London, 1986, reprinted 1995), section 13b.

etched copper-plate by means of electro-deposition. The surface was not as hard wearing as a steel engraving but the great advantage of this method was, that should the steel show signs of wear, the steel facing could be chemically removed and the process repeated. Had this method been invented a little earlier it would not have been necessary to have used line engraving on steel at all between the 1820s and 1840s.¹⁴⁵

Apart from steel-plates being longer lasting than copper-plates it is questionable whether there was any other advantage. It is arguable whether finer lines were better on steel than copper. Certainly fine lines could be achieved on copper and, as copper was a softer metal than steel, these lines were easier to cut. Are lines on a steel plate closer together, shallower and do they achieve more subtle gradations of tone? Was it for these reasons that Turner was attracted to the medium? For example Rogers' *Italy* (1830) and *Poems* (1834) were intended to be among the finest illustrated books published at that time and cost a relative hefty £15,000 to publish. The work involved to engrave them meant the engravers received 40 or 50 guineas per engraving which indicates the time and care taken. Part of the challenge was that the vignettes were printed as head pieces and tail pieces on the same pages as the letter-press.¹⁴⁶ Perhaps Turner and his publishers were more attracted by the possibility of large print runs on steel-plates enabling them to earn back the cost of production? It has been said by Hunnisett and others that the advantage of the steel engraving process was the lightness and delicacy of the lines (about 5 lines to the millimetre). These fine and shallow lines gave a clarity and firmness to the images which, Hunnisett claims, had previously been impossible with copper or wood engraving. Was steel engraving, as it is claimed, particularly suited to the depiction of topography and especially architecture as it rendered accurate and detailed scenes, or was it merely coincidence that when steel replaced copper the most popular subject matter was topography and architecture which benefited from the longer print runs? However in many cases it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between an engraving from a copper or a steel plate. Often it is a question of dating it. If it is dated to before 1820 then it is most certainly a copper-plate. In section 2.6 below the engraving tools are considered and it seems an argument in favour of the fine lines in copper-engraving that the tools essentially remained the same and were not replaced or transformed with the introduction of steel engraving.

¹⁴⁵ Frank Weitenkampf, *How to appreciate Prints* (New York, 1929), p.281.

¹⁴⁶ Jan Piggott, *Turner's Vignettes* (London, 1993), p.18.

The technique of the engravers did not necessarily change either but steel was, by its nature, harder to engrave and probably took more time. Turner had great admiration for some of his engravers but he must have been a demanding person to work with. Charles Dickens devoted a piece on steel engravings in his magazine *All the Year Round* (27 October 1866, pp. 372-76).¹⁴⁷ Steel engravings have a silvery quality to them which some people describe as ‘cold’ or ‘unforgiving’, whereas copper engravings are thought of as ‘warmer’ in feel.

2.3 Intaglio or Relief? Metal or Wood?

Prints from either copper or steel plates were made by the intaglio method where the paper receives the ink from lines incised in the metal plate by hand or acid. By contrast, wood-engraving is a relief process, where the surrounding material is cut away, and it is the removed surface which takes the ink. Wood-engravings are made on hard end-grain wood, such as boxwood, cut across the trunk of a tree. Before Thomas Bewick (1753-1828) improved the art of wood-engraving, cheaper wood-cuts were made on long-grain planks of softer wood such as pear and were often used to illustrate inexpensive books such as chap books. In wood-cuts (the name ‘cut’ because the early engravers used knives to cut towards them) the pattern of the grain or the knots in the wood were often used or incorporated in the design. Wood-blocks were very durable and it is claimed that a wood-engraving by Bewick yielded 900,000 impressions.¹⁴⁸ By the mid 1830s wood engravings were used as illustrations in magazines such as the *Penny Magazine* (begun 1832) and later *The Illustrated London News* (begun 1842). As the engravings could be incorporated within the text they were extensively used to illustrate novels particularly those of Sir Walter Scott and Charles Dickens.¹⁴⁹ Robert Branston had some success incorporating wood-engravings into topographical books that also contained steel-engravings.¹⁵⁰

The advantage of wood-engravings was the ease with which they could be combined with the letter-press on the same page whereas steel-engravings, unless they were small vignettes, could not. This last remark is controversial. It is highly unusual to find steel-engraved vignettes on the same page as type because copper or steel-engraved images are printed on an

¹⁴⁷ See Basil Hunnisett, *Steel –engraved book illustration in England* (London, 1980) reproduces the full article in an appendix, p. 241ff.

¹⁴⁸ Douglas Percy Bliss, *A History of Wood Engraving* (London, 1928), p. 186.

¹⁴⁹ My thanks to Hilary Paynter, President of the Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers, for explaining and demonstrating the process of wood-engraving. See *Artists & Illustrators* (October 2010) for her article on making a wood-engraving ‘Printmaking Masterclass’ pp.51-54 and Hilary Paynter, *Full Circle - Wood Engravings* (Banchory, 2010). For Thomas Bewick see Jenny Uglow, *Nature’s Engraver. A Life of Thomas Bewick* (London, 2006).

¹⁵⁰ In 1842 the publisher Robert Cadell used a mixture of steel and wood engravings in the *Abbotsford edition* of Sir Walter Scott’s *Waverley Novels*. Cadell states in his introduction that ‘the embellishments of the *Abbotsford edition* will be in number about two thousand’ (p. 4). In Volume One, *Waverley* and *Guy Mannering*, the engravings on wood far outnumber the steel engravings. There are 10 steel engravings after Clarkson Stanfield and 203 wood engravings. Branston supplied 26 wood engravings.

intaglio press and cannot be printed at the same time as the type. The general rule was that text and image are on separate pages owing to the complexity and time it would take to combine the letterpress and steel engraving. There are however examples of steel vignettes on the same page as the letterpress: Heath's *Picturesque Annual for 1842*, published by Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, with text by Mrs Gore (see 5.23) has 15 vignettes with text on the same page. The vignettes are printed on much thicker paper than the other letter-press pages and have tissue guards protecting the vignette plates which suggests they are indeed steel engravings. Each vignette has letter-press on the verso side. The process must have been technically challenging and time consuming. However, there seem to be other examples. In Jan Piggott's *Turner's Vignettes* (London, 1993) he states in the introduction (p. 18) 'for the Rogers and Campbell books the vignettes were printed as head-pieces and tail-pieces on the same pages as the letter-press - a complicated and expensive process' (Samuel Rogers's *Italy* (1830) and *Poems* (1834) and Thomas Campbell's *Poetical Works* (1837). Rawlinson lists these as steel-engraved vignettes (Appendix 1 Rawlinson's list of engravings, section B *Line Engravings on Steel* in Luke Hermann, *Turner Prints* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 266-267 and p. 270). Owing to the complexity and cost of the enterprise these publications are rare.

2.4 Line engraving.

Line engraving begins when an artist makes a drawing, sketch or watercolour (sepia or coloured) and then the view is engraved by an engraver onto a metal plate using a burin or graver (a prism-shaped bar of steel with a sharp point and a wooden handle). The action of engraving produces furrows in the plate which then takes the ink. Line engraving, aquatinting, etching and mezzotinting are all methods of engraving on metal.

2.5 The metal plate.

The metal plate is first cut to the desired size and the edges bevelled off. It is then polished or burnished till the surface is smooth and bright. The burnisher is a small tool about three inches long, tapering to a blunt point like a chisel. If the plate is copper a buff of cloth is soaked with oil and rubbed over the surface of the plate. As steel is so hard a very fine emery paper removes the unwanted marks left by the burnishing tool. The plate is then cleaned with naphtha or paraffin and wiped with tissue paper until the whole surface is clean and bright. Metal plates were prepared by specialist manufacturers and supplied directly to engravers or to print publishers such as H. Fisher, Son & Co.

If the plate is to be engraved then there is no need to lay ground on a plate. However, etching needs a ground. The plate is heated to a temperature just sufficient to melt the etching ground, a composition of burgundy pitch, asphaltum and wax rolled into small balls and wrapped in silk to prevent impurities. The ground is dabbed or rolled on over the flame of a wax taper to achieve an even blackness. An alternative is to dissolve the ground in chloroform, apply it and allow the chloroform to evaporate and then smoke it to the desired darkness.

In the meantime a copy of the picture is traced over with tracing-paper and a soft lead pencil. The original drawing was copied either by the system of squaring or by using a *camera lucida*. Squaring involved stretching a grid over the original picture and copying everything in each square onto another paper of reduced size. The *camera lucida*, patented by Dr. W. Hyde Wollaston (1766-1828) in 1807, used a small prism through which a reduced image of the original could be seen and copied.¹⁵¹ When the tracing is finished it is placed face downwards on the coated plate and lightly rubbed with the burnisher until the lead is transferred to the ground. Outlines may have been the work of apprentices; James Giles (1809-86), a pupil of the Scottish Quaker engraver William Miller during the 1830s, described the process of making an outline drawing and wrote that 'the pencil drawing was sent as usual to be transferred by the printer through the rolling press on to the etching ground'.¹⁵² The outline is then created by lines incised into the plate with a steel etching needle and light and shade are created by varying the depth and breadth of the incised lines.

2.6 The tools of the trade.

The metal plate rests on a leather pouch or bag filled with sand. This enables the engraver to turn the plate as he wishes. So for circular or wavy lines the plate is turned and the burin is kept steady. The principal tool in line engraving is the burin or graver. An engraver will use a variety of burins with differing pointed or rounded ends and differing thicknesses depending on the work to be done. For example if clouds need to be thicker then a different tool is used to achieve a darker tone. For really dark patches cross hatching is used. The engraver places the wooden handle in the palm of his hand with his fingers on the steel bar and pushes the burin along with a steady pressure and a quick flick at the end to remove the burr after a line

¹⁵¹ Michael Clarke, *The Tempting Prospect. A social history of English watercolours* (London, 1981), p.18.

¹⁵² Taken from *Memorials of Hope Park* (privately printed by Miller's son, 1886) and quoted on www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk

is cut. The burrs need to be removed with a burr tool or scraper and then rubbed with a burnisher or emery paper to achieve a good clean line.

2.7 Etching and Engraving. A mixed method.

It is worth noting at this point the differences between etching and engraving. Basically, steel engravings were produced by a mixed method of engraving and etching. Bamber Gascoigne is firmly convinced that 'during the 1830s and 1840s the proportion of engraving to etching tended to fall until the average steel engraving, in spite of its name, was almost entirely etched'. Raymond Lister goes further and states that 'steel engraving is not pure line-engraving but a combination of line-engraving with etching, aquatint, stipple or mezzotint, sometimes all together on one plate'.¹⁵³ He adds that 'pure line-engraving on such a hard metal being far too laborious. Usually therefore the general outlines were etched on the plate, which was then worked up by engraving, mezzotinting or other methods, although etched passages were often left untouched'.¹⁵⁴ In etching each line tells its own story, but an engraving line indicates tint or general character. Hunnisett puts it succinctly 'every steel plate, therefore, starts life as an etching, the majority of plates retaining the marks of such work in the finished state, usually in the foreground of a picture, where the lines are deeper and the print the blackest. In the very fine vignettes, most, if not all the evidence of etching have been removed, so that all the line edges are firm and accurately engraved to produce a crisp, sharp impression'.¹⁵⁵ Some of the more basic details of the image including the background and the repetitive parts of an engraving such as close parallel lines for areas of sky could be ruled more quickly by etching. Often a ruling machine was used for large areas such as sky and water.¹⁵⁶ The straight edges and right angles of architecture were done by etching. The skilful part was to engrave the foreground figures and anything that needed emphasis. Masonry is generally shown by upright lines, the sea, the foreground or the sky by horizontal lines. A peaceful sky has horizontal strokes parallel with the horizon or slightly wavered; storm clouds are made by lozenges of mixed curved and straight lines.¹⁵⁷ Foliage is characterised by irregular curves.

¹⁵³ Bamber Gascoigne, op. cit. section 13b. Also Raymond Lister, *Prints and Printmaking. A dictionary and handbook of the art in nineteenth century Britain* (London, 1984), pp. 54-66.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 54.

¹⁵⁵ Basil Hunnisett, *Steel-engraved book illustration in England* (London, 1980), op. cit. p.6.

¹⁵⁶ The ruling machine was invented by Wilson Lowry (1762-1824) in c. 1790-95. See Hunnisett, *Steel-engraved book illustration in England*, op. cit, p. 46.

¹⁵⁷ Raymond Lister, op. cit, p. 57.

Etching was used to speed up the process. It was a faster medium than engraving and was used for thicker lines and for the depiction of 'wiggly' foliage. Within the etching itself, fine line engraving was also incorporated to give added texture and the illusion of colour. The fine lines achieved by using the burin were also employed for very fine sky work and for use in clothing and figure work.¹⁵⁸

2.8 Pure etching - produced by using acid to bite lines into a metal plate.

The polished plate is covered with a thin layer of 'etching ground' made up of a mixture of wax, gum mastic and asphaltum. The ground is smoked and the design is then drawn with an etching needle. The steel point cuts through the wax like drawing with a pencil, but does not cut into the metal. Then a wall of beeswax and burgundy pitch with a little tallow is made around the plate. Then nitric acid is poured on to the steel plates (ferric chloride was used on copper plates). The acid bites in and the process is repeated until the deepest shadows are judged to have bitten in. To avoid too much acid biting in, the engraver can use the 'stopping out' method by using Brunswick black or asphaltum to protect the lines. Those lines not protected will print the darkest. Once the plate has been cleaned a rough proof is pulled to enable the engraver to see the effect of the biting. The engraver then compares it to the original picture and he may do a little dry point etching where it is too light or burnish it where it is too dark. 'Dry point' means using the needle directly on the metal. A small toothed wheel called a 'roulette' might be used to increase shadows. Minor mistakes can be removed by scraping, but larger ones would need 'knocking-up', literally hammering the back of the plate behind the mistake in order to push forward the metal in the front for the line to be removed or re-engraved. Occasionally, it is necessary to lay a fresh ground and do more biting.

2.9 Inking the plate.

Once the image is engraved (whether by just engraving or by the mixed method), ink is worked into the heated plate by using a roller and fingers where it remains in the furrows of the incised lines. This is called inking the plate. The ink is thick like a tube of paint; if it was too thin (like ink for a pen) it would run everywhere but the ink lodges in the incised lines and the rest is wiped off. A ball of scrim (usually soft muslin) is used to wipe the excess ink off the plate leaving just the inked image. It is a careful process and cannot be rushed and particular care is taken so that the bevelled margins of the plate are wiped clean. Often the

¹⁵⁸ My thanks to Brian Hanscomb RE for his comments in the above paragraphs.

plate is again warmed after inking and whitener is then applied to wipe away any excess ink with a sweep of the hand (sometimes chalk and muslin).

2.10 Printing the plate on a rolling press.

The printing of the plate is also a slow and careful process. Firstly the paper on which the plate is to be printed is prepared by wetting it. If the paper were not wetted, the ink, which is a composition of oil and lamp-black, would lie upon the surface and smear.¹⁵⁹ The paper must not be too wet nor too dry. Blotting paper is used to soak up excess moisture. The prepared paper is lined up over the plate. Thin blotting paper is placed over this to stop blanket marks. Plate and paper are laid under three or four layers of blankets and the whole 'sandwich' is then subject to the very heavy pressure of the press rollers as the wheel of the rolling press is turned. The pressure forces the damp paper into the lines like a mangle and picks up the ink. Once the paper has taken the copy of the plate it is left to dry. In a print shop with quantities of prints to dry they must have been hung up or placed in stacks to dry.¹⁶⁰ Hunnisett states that 'only a maximum of 800 reasonable impressions can be achieved with copper-plates' whereas a steel-plate would not show wear and tear even after 25,000 copies had been made.¹⁶¹

What many commentators on steel engraved book illustration fail to mention is that making steel engraved plates was still a manual job. Hunnisett comments that there is no record of book illustrations being printed from steam powered presses.¹⁶² The printing of the letter-press may, at this time, have benefited from new mechanised technology, but the pulling of plates was essentially the same as it always was. It had to be a reasonably slow process to get a good impression as a slow pressure was needed to draw the ink out of the incised grooves. Hunnisett, quoting from Andrew Ure's *Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures and Mines* (Longmans, 1878), states that one qualified man could make 180-200 7 x 10 inch plates in a

¹⁵⁹ *Penny Magazine*, Oct. 31- Nov. 30, 1833, Vol II, Issue 112, pp. 505-511, No 4 of *The Commercial History of a Penny Magazine: Printing Presses and Machinery*.

¹⁶⁰ My thanks to the copper-engraver Brian Hanscomb, RE, for demonstrating the making and printing of a copper-plate. There is not a huge bibliography on the techniques of steel-engraving but the following are useful:

Bamber Gascoigne, *How to identify Prints* (London, 1986 and 1995)

Nor should Nelson's *Encyclopaedia* (London, 1900) be dismissed as its entry under Engraving, pp. 380-381, has a clear and detailed description of a process that had been used within living memory.

Devon Libraries Local Studies Service, *Etched on Devon's memory*, online www.devon.gov.uk/etched provided a useful account.

Of great relevance was to go to Atelier 63 situated in the heart of Montparnasse in Paris at 54 rue Daguerre to the atelier of Joelle Serve. The studio is an international place of work and training for students and artists who wish to learn the different techniques of engraving on copper or zinc such as Etching, Aquatint, Soft Ground, Engraving, Dry Point and Mezzotint. Joelle Serve studied under S. W. Hayter.

¹⁶¹ Hunnisett, *Steel-engraved book illustration in England* (1980), op. cit. p.178.

¹⁶² Hunnisett, op.cit. p.190.

14 hour day. That would suggest that each engraving took about 4-5 minutes to make.¹⁶³ Modern print-makers usually require 10-15 minutes to pull a print.

2.11 Plate-Marks.

The pressure of the press leaves a Plate-Mark which is often seen in the published illustrated books unless they have been trimmed during the binding. Once the finished print was dried they were pressed and a piece of protective tissue placed on them to prevent set-off. The tissues were a temporary measure, but many steel-engraved illustrations still have their tissue-guards and this has often caused foxing due to their acid content.

The engraved plates were produced separately and often in a different establishment from the letter-press, although the publication would carry the same publishing line, for example Fisher, Son & Co or George Virtue. Some publications clearly have the name of the letter-press printer and occasionally the plates, if they have not been trimmed, have the name of the specialist plate printer, for example McQueen, Hayward, Barnett & Son, J. & G. Bishop etc. A comment as late as 1844 from Fisher's *Colonial Magazine* is quite telling:

We can understand the practicability of cheap letter-press printing, with the aid of steam being lent to effect the object; but here, where manual labour, or rather dexterity - for steel-plate printing is a delicate operation - can alone be employed, the enterprise that has produced a work of such superior excellence is truly astonishing.¹⁶⁴

2.12 Stereotyping.

The innovation of stereotyping allowed for larger print runs and hopefully larger sales. It was a new technology introduced c. 1810 and allowed text copying by using a plaster mould of the type. Molten metal was poured into the mould and the result was a metal plate of the page. Stereotyping enabled the reprinting of the text at a later date, especially for texts which were more or less in constant demand.¹⁶⁵ The reprints could be produced with no further outlay in time or money, avoiding the need to pick out the type and compose the pages again, or having the type left standing. Several copies of a book or part-work could thus be simultaneously

¹⁶³ Hunnisett, op.cit. p. 190.

¹⁶⁴ Fisher's *Colonial Magazine*, 1844, p. 305, in a review of *The People's Gallery*, part VIII, by the Rev.G.N. Wright, Fisher, Son & Co, Newgate Street, London, 1844.

¹⁶⁵ My thanks to Rob Banham, who, in correspondence with me, argues that stereotyping really did not benefit most printers/publishers until at least the 1830s when the papier maché process came in. The plaster process was time consuming and only gave one plate as the mould was destroyed in the process of casting. For most printers it simply was not economical as they were unlikely to reprint and in fact, for very long runs, the plates did not last long enough as they did not wear as well as type (they stopped using stereotypes at the University Press in Oxford for this reason). The papier maché process on the other hand genuinely allowed for 'endless' printing as many plates could be cast from the same mould (and one could therefore store the mould rather than the plate which was much more space efficient). Banham suggests that if Fisher was using stereotyping extensively in 1819 then this may indicate something about the scale and type of his printing i.e. not enormous print runs but lots of small to medium editions of the same texts. There would also have been a lot of capital tied up in stereotype plates. However see chapter 3.19 where the scale of Fisher's operation is described with over 10,000 stereotype plates and 16 printing presses, making it, as was claimed at the time, the largest periodical warehouse in the United Kingdom.

printed either on separate presses in the same establishment or at completely different locations. The commercial advantages were enormous. Asa Briggs in his recent *History of Longmans* (2008) wrote:

Stereotypes were of great importance in the economics of publishing. Once a stereotype has been made... there was no need for movable type. The stereotypes could be stored, and this eliminated the need for new editing and proof reading. Texts were thereby stabilised.¹⁶⁶

In 1820 there were about 20 stereotyping establishments in London.¹⁶⁷ *The Penny Magazine* (1833) in a special series of articles on *The Commercial History of a Penny Magazine* stresses the importance of stereotyping in the economy of capital. The publisher of the *Penny Magazine*, Charles Knight, wrote that one of the publisher's greatest difficulties was calculating demand as books depended on fashion and on public opinion and if he gets it wrong then he overprints and loses money. If a publisher is looking to sell cheap in the expectation of a large sale, then by using stereotyping, he can adjust supply exactly to demand. Overproduction could lead the publisher to be ruined by his stock (Knight was possibly referring to the firm of Hurst Robinson who overdid their print run of Sir Walter Scott titles anticipating greater sales see chapter 3.5). A publisher has to balance his supply with his market. Stereotyping solved the problem. The publisher of the *Penny Magazine* did not know whether he should print 20,000 or 100,000 of the first issue. Stereotyping allowed him to adjust the supply exactly to the demand. 20 million *Penny Magazines* were issued between 1832-33 with 200,000-300,000 copies in the warehouse at any one time. Any increase in demand could be printed from the stereotype plates at a day's notice. Thus the market could be supplied and the stock kept low. Capital was saved by stereotyping as well as saving on interest, insurance, warehouse-room etc and all the charges of having a large stock.¹⁶⁸ Of significance is that wood-cuts could be stereotyped. Indeed Charles Knight mentions that stereotype casts of wood-cuts were sold to France and Germany to be used in their magazines - *Magasin Pittoresque* (published in Paris, 1833-78) and *Pfenig Magazin* (published in Leipzig, 1833-42).¹⁶⁹

2.13 Part-Works.

Serial publication was not a new phenomenon. As was seen in Chapter One (section 1.5) part-works or serial publication started in the eighteenth-century. It was well suited to

¹⁶⁶ Asa Briggs, *A History of Longmans and their books 1724-1990* (London, 2008) p.195.

¹⁶⁷ see Thomas Hodgson, *An Essay on the origin and progress of Stereotype Printing* (London, 1982) p. 121 and Rob Banham's unpublished PhD Thesis, *A study of the firms Gye and Balne (1805-1829) and Balne (1829-1838), with particular reference to their colour printing*, University of Reading, 2004, Chapter 5, pp.100-119.

¹⁶⁸ *Penny Magazine* (1833), vol II, issue 107, p.472.

¹⁶⁹ The University of Minnesota website: www.english.cla.umn.edu/PM contains a complete copy of *The Commercial History of a Penny Magazine*, Vol II, nos 96, 102, 107 and 112.

topographical work and novels as it enabled the cost and preparation of a work to be spread over a number of years. As Graham Law and Robert L. Patten have said: 'The principal motivations underlying the success of serial publications were speed and economy'.¹⁷⁰ With the introduction of steel engravings serial publication was also at the forefront of bringing new technological improvements to print production. Previously works of a topographical nature such as county histories, views of nobleman's or gentleman's seats and works of antiquarian interest had needed a list of subscribers to finance the publishing. Rather than seeing this as limiting the number of books published, the gloss put on this limitation was that it added to the prestige of the publication. The list of subscribers conferred social status.¹⁷¹ However, in the nineteenth-century, although patronage played a role, a new system was developed that was decidedly less aristocratic and more geared to appeal to the middle classes. By the mid-nineteenth-century publishers produced books, magazines and newspapers they hoped had a universal interest which addressed all classes.

As the eighteenth century progressed publications were aimed at a wider readership without losing the cachet of exclusivity. This coincided with a general awareness of Britain's domestic antiquities. They may not have been on the scale of those seen by the aristocrats and gentlemen travelling to Italy and elsewhere on the Grand Tour, but there was a certain patriotic pride in what could be identified in Britain and books of an antiquarian nature went beyond a mere listing in the county histories of properties and pedigrees as epitomised by the foundation of the Society of Antiquaries and other regional Antiquarian Societies.¹⁷²

Rosemary Sweet remarks that:

In the 1750s the Grand Tour was still essentially confined to the nobility; members of the aristocracy aside, few of the fellows of the Society of Antiquaries had travelled to Italy, except for those who had done so as artists or tutors.¹⁷³

As was seen in Chapter One, a key publication was Grose's *The Antiquities of England and Wales* (1772-76) which appeared as a serial publication. Grose's work coincided with a fashion for topographical tours and a taste for the picturesque. Each part cost two shillings and included four copper-engraved plates. Thirty years later Britton and Brayley's *The Beauties of England and Wales* (1801-13) cost two shillings and sixpence per part, with three

¹⁷⁰ Graham Law and Robert L. Patten, 'The serial revolution' in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, edited David McKitterick (Cambridge, 2009), volume VI, p. 147.

¹⁷¹ 'Dedictory Prefaces and names on a subscription list say more about the ties of patronage, however, than about the levels of interest in antiquities among the nation's fashionable elite'. Sweet, *Antiquaries* op. cit. p.165.

¹⁷² See Rosemary Sweet, in her chapter on *Antiquarian Societies*, op. cit. pp. 81-118.

¹⁷³ Sweet, *Antiquaries*, op. cit. p. 93.

engravings, and had a much larger print run aimed at thousands instead of hundreds.¹⁷⁴ The copper-plate engravings were of good quality and their accuracy was heightened by the number of field trips and the quality of the artist's drawings sent back to the publisher by such artists as John Varley, Thomas Hearne, J.M.W. Turner and Benjamin West.¹⁷⁵ Britton continued publishing high quality copper engravings in part works such as *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* (volume V, entitled *Chronological History and Graphic Illustrations of Christian Architecture* was published in 1826 with some of Bartlett's earliest published drawings)¹⁷⁶ with 360 copper engravings by Le Keux and *The Cathedral Antiquities of England* (1814-35) with 300 copper plates from drawings by some of Britton's pupils and freelance artists such as Blore, Cattermole, Bartlett (his pencil and wash sketch *Fountains, Great Court and South Transept*, 7 ½ x 12 inches, 190 x 300mm was probably a study for one of these publications, made in the late 1820s) [fig. 24] Ganby and Baxter, engraved by J. and H. Le Keux and wood-engravings within the text by Branston. This publication was also available in part-works 'with a view to accommodate all classes of purchasers... each Cathedral may therefore be had separate'. A complete five volume bound set sold for £35.¹⁷⁷

Fifteen years later Britton's *Picturesque Antiquities of English Cities* (1828-1830) was behind the times and lost money. Six issues came out with 58 copper-plate engravings and 24 wood-engravings and 96 pages of letter-press. 45 out of the 58 copper-plate subjects were drawn by Britton's star pupil William Henry Bartlett. Bartlett had travelled to many of the cities and made sketches on the spot in 1827. He sent Britton 'accounts of my proceedings' in a series of letters.¹⁷⁸ The plate *Elvet Bridge, Durham* was from a drawing by Thomas Hearne (1744-1817) and the plate of *Market Place, Wells* was sketched by the late William Alexander (1767-1816) with 'the effect' by Samuel Prout. Prout had been a pupil of John Britton as early as 1802. Britton, rather like Dr Thomas Monro (1759-1833), had a large collection of topographical drawings which he could select for his different publications, and presumably the Hearne and Alexander sketches were part of this stock.¹⁷⁹ The copper plates were

¹⁷⁴ See description in Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated 1604-1851* (London, 1983), pp. 234-243.

¹⁷⁵ Sweet, *Antiquaries*, op. cit. p. 326.

¹⁷⁶ Ross, op. cit. p. 10.

¹⁷⁷ A most useful Catalogue of Britton's works was bound into the back of *Picturesque Antiquities of the English Cities* published and sold by M.A. Nattali, 19 Southampton Street, Covent Garden and dated 1837 which included original published prices and the reduced prices.

¹⁷⁸ Two letters from Bartlett to Britton, University of Edinburgh Library Laing II.426/34-35. Reproduced in Appendix 1, section IV.

¹⁷⁹ Catalogue Christie's Sale June 26 1833. At Dr Monro's death in 1833 his collection included works by: J.M.W. Turner (49), William Henry Hunt (26), T.H. Shepherd (5), John Varley (8), Peter de Wint (7), Thomas Hearne (36), Louthborg (13), Hoppner (27), Gainsborough (28), Thomas Girtin (23), William Alexander (26), Henry Edridge (16), R.P. Bonington (10), Paul Sandby (10), J.R. Cozens (9), Edward Dayes (18) and Barrett (16).

engraved by some of the best engravers who also worked for Turner – Varrall, Redaway, Woolnoth, Tombleson and John Le Keux, who did half of them. Within the text there were 24 wood-engravings, many also by Bartlett, and engraved by Branston and Wright and by Samuel Williams.

Picturesque Antiquities of English Cities cost Britton £3,000 and was issued in parts (serial publication). Each number sold for twenty four shillings on small paper (£2.12 s on large paper) and included 10 engravings and four wood-engravings. In *the Chronological List of Literary Works of John Britton* compiled by T. E. Jones one finds that *Picturesque Antiquities of English Cities* had a print run of 500 copies in demy quarto, priced at £7.4s 0d and 250 copies in imperial quarto, priced at £12 with 12 copies in royal folio. Britton thought this good value for money, ‘not exorbitant’ but ‘the age of cheap literature had commenced and the circulation of the volume was very much less than the proprietors had expected’.¹⁸⁰ However, it did not sell and only seven years later in 1837, the bookseller M.A. Nattali of 19 Southampton Street, Covent Garden issued *A Catalogue of Embellished Publications on the English Cathedrals, Architectural Antiquities, The Fine Arts etc by John Britton; on sale at very reduced prices* - now *Picturesque Antiquities of the English Cities* was offered at £2.4s instead of the original £7.4s.

On the wrapper of the third number of *Picturesque Antiquities of English Cities* dated 20 May 1829 Britton admits to defeat and actually comments that he has joined the other side:

In alluding to the present state of Topographical and Archaeological Literature I cannot be unconscious of, or indifferent to, a class of works in this department, which belongs entirely to the present age, and which may be said to announce a new era. *The Beauties of England*¹⁸¹ was the first work to give popular attraction to embellished Topography. Its commencement was eminently successful [1801]; and had the authors [John Britton and Edward Wedlake Brayley] been more alive to their own interest than to fame, and been more solicitous of rapid than fastidious execution, they might have secured a liberal remuneration. At present [1829] there are seven different publications in progress, similar in their respective styles of embellishment to the *Beauties*. The plates, being executed on steel, will produce an immense number of impressions, and thus enable the proprietors to sell them cheap. Four neatly engraved prints, with a small portion of letter-press, are rendered for one shilling; and from sixteen to twenty thousand copies of one of these works are said to be sold. This must create a new class of readers, and will give an increased stimulus to Topographical inquiries. Finding an inadequate remuneration for labour, and for large expenditure of money in fine and expensive publications, I am induced to write for two of these cheap works, from the motives that impel the artist to paint the face of any sitter, or a counsel at the bar to advocate any cause, - because it is his vocation!

¹⁸⁰ T. E. Jones, *A Descriptive Account of the Literary Works of John Britton* (London, 1849), vol. II p. 73.

¹⁸¹ *Beauties of England and Wales* had cost £50,000 to produce.

The above is an incredible manifesto or reluctant mission statement, rather like a member of parliament crossing the floor and joining another party. There is a reluctance to admit yet at the same time an inevitable acceptance that his methods had failed and that the new steel-engraved topographical works were the future in an age of cheap embellished print-publishing. Part works of Britton's *Beauties* had sold for two shillings and sixpence twenty eight years' earlier in 1801. Now a part-work was only one shilling and the print runs were not in hundreds but thousands. The date 1829 is significant, heralding what appeared to be a mini-boom in publishing. There was a sharp rise in the number of *Annuals* published, seventeen being issued in late 1829. Charles Heath's 1829 *Keepsake* cost 11,000 guineas to produce.¹⁸² In June and July 1829 Heath exhibited thirty eight of Turner's watercolours from the *Picturesque Views of England and Wales* at the large gallery in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, in an attempt to boost flagging sales of the engravings, of which seven parts had appeared. The publisher John Murray began his *Family Library* which was intended to publish cheap books to a wider public at five shillings each.

It is around 1828 that both Bartlett and Allom begin their careers with the print publishing firms of George Virtue and Henry Fisher. Abbott and Holder possess a pencil sketch by Allom of *Holywell, North Wales* dated 28 September 1828.¹⁸³ Allom entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1828, having previously been apprenticed at the age of 15 to the architect Francis Goodwin (1784-1835) and was to remain an architectural student for ten years (see Chapter 5.1). He needed an income and was employed 'painting views for the purposes of Publication'.¹⁸⁴ The first topographical book to be published after designs by Thomas Allom was *Devonshire Illustrated* (1829) part of Fisher's serial publication of *Views in Devonshire and Cornwall from original drawings by Thomas Allom and W. H. Bartlett with descriptive accounts by J. Britton and E.W. Brayley forming part of the general series of Fisher's Grand National Improvements and Jones' Great Britain Illustrated*.

Of the ninety four plates in *Devonshire Illustrated* seventy five were after Allom and fourteen by Bartlett. In the same year (1829) Thomas Hosmer Shepherd's *Bath and Bristol* contained six plates after Bartlett.¹⁸⁵ The letter-press to *Bath and Bristol* was by John Britton. Two

¹⁸² Heath's *Keepsake* (London, 1829) see Preface p.iii.

¹⁸³ My thanks to Philip Athill of Abbott and Holder for giving his permission and to Tom Edwards who allowed me to peruse a portfolio of Allom sketches he was cataloguing on 25 September 2010.

¹⁸⁴ Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* (London, 1918-21 and 1926-30) Vol. I.

¹⁸⁵ T. Shepherd, *Bath and Bristol, with the Counties of Somerset and Gloucester, displayed in a Series of Views; including modern Improvements, picturesque Scenery, Antiquities etc. From original Drawings by Thos. H. Shepherd; with historical and descriptive*

surviving sepia views of *Bristol* and *Wells* by Thomas Hosmer Shepherd can be compared to their steel engravings. The sepia drawings are very close in scale to the engravings. This is a feature which Robert Fisher points out in his letter to the Irish artist George Petrie (see Ch.4, and letter 10, NLI, MS. 791, no. 199 in Appendix 4) [figs. 25 & 26]. Both Jones's *Views of the Cities of Bath and Bristol* and Fisher's *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* (also with letter-press by Britton) are probably the two 'cheap works' Britton proposed to write for.

Seven years later Britton auctioned the stock, the plates and the copyright of *The Beauties of England and Wales* but failed to cover his original costs of £50,000.

Britton noted, in his preface to *Hereford Cathedral* (1830-31) which was part of his *Cathedral Antiquities* series (1814-35), that the literature of the past twenty years had changed with cheap and attractive publications such as popular novels and pamphlets, and that:

These emerge almost daily and hourly from the rapidly multiplying steam presses of the time, and combined with engravings on steel, which produce almost an indefinite number of impressions of prints, and with the improved execution of Lithography, (they) have co-operated to produce not merely a reform, but a revolution in Literature.¹⁸⁶

In his preface to the *History of Worcester Cathedral* (1835) he ruefully remarked that had *The Picturesque Antiquities of English Cities* been published in 1810 instead of 1830

It would have been eminently popular and profitable... but amongst the changes of the times, that of cheap and even beautifully embellished publications, it was neither remarkable nor popular.¹⁸⁷

He goes on to say that:

in consequence of the number and rivalry of artists and publishers, the skill of the former, with the substitution of steel for copper, and the activity and business knowledge of the latter, such publications are now rendered to the public so exceedingly cheap, and really good, that those of the old school, and even of the first reformers in the walk, are superseded and neglected.

Thirty years after the *Beauties*, in the Preface to *Cornwall Illustrated* published by Fisher, Son & Co. in 1831, John Britton reflects on the progress made in 'embellished literature': 'the original publication of *Grose's Antiquities* about sixty years ago formed the commencement of an important era – *The Beauties of England* indicated an additional improvement – while Fisher's *Illustrations of Cornwall and Devonshire* confer a still more brilliant aspect on the

Illustrations by John Britton. London: Published by Jones and Co. Temple of the Muses, (late Lackington's), Finsbury Square. (London, 1829).

¹⁸⁶ T.E. Jones, *A Descriptive Account of the Literary Works of John Britton* (London, 1849), 2 vols, vol 2, p.73. Note the pun on the word 'reform', it must have been the buzz word as the next year, 1832, the Reform Bill was passed.

¹⁸⁷ T.E. Jones, *A Descriptive Account of the Literary Works of John Britton* (London, 1849), op. cit. vol. II p. 73.

pictorial department of topographical reform'. This improvement was the newly invented use of steel engraving.¹⁸⁸

Britton continues in the preface by saying that:

by the modern invention of engraving on steel, the most beautiful impressions from its plates have been rendered both numerous and cheap. Of this process, the publishers of this work have availed themselves; and, by the united efforts of the skilful draftsman and equally skilful engraver, have produced a series of views of the scenery, seats, and antiquities of Cornwall, which need only to be inspected, to commend admiration.

The Preface to *Lancashire Illustrated* published by Fisher in 1831 commented that:

to the expense incurred in sending out this publication into the world, the price at which it has been, and still continues to be sold, bears but a very inadequate proportion. It was not to a heavy charge, but to *an extended sale* [my italics] that the proprietors were induced to look for a reimbursement of the capital advanced.

A few years later in 1835, George Virtue made, on the back cover of the first part of *Scotland Illustrated*, a similar remark to Fisher's:

The aim of the Proprietors in this laborious and expensive undertaking is, to follow on the same track so happily opened by their *Switzerland*, and to present a great National Work upon such terms as to place it within reach of every individual, who, however humble in worldly circumstances, combines with a love of country a love of literature and the fine arts. With so large an outlay of capital in the production of a work of this class, and with such inconsiderable returns, the reader may easily imagine that the circulation must be very extensive indeed, before any thing like remuneration can be expected...

In the Preface to the published volume of *Scotland Illustrated* (October 1837) Dr Beattie wrote that it took three years and £40,000 to produce and gave employment to a thousand families (see Chapter 5.14).

Yet not all the new steel-engraved publications met with success. This was still early days and the new technology was being tried and tested. Most of the early steel engravings in the 1820s were single prints. Putting steel engravings into topographical books followed on from the very successful use of steel engravings in the end of year gift books or Annuals. One of the early failures in book form was in 1827 when the publisher of Turner and Girtin's *River Scenery* inserted a notice stating that 'Eton, Totness and Ripon Minster are cancelled in consequence of the imperfections in the manufacture of the steel plates on which they are engraved'.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ The first mention of a steel engraver is in Pigot's *London Directory* of 1822, the same year as Thomas Lupton printed a Mezzotint from a soft steel plate.

¹⁸⁹ See Holloway, *Bibliography* op. cit. introduction p.vi.

Another difficulty in determining the progressive rise in the use of steel engravings is that throughout the 1820s and right into the 1840s, at the height of steel-engraved book production, the trade directories do not necessarily distinguish between copper and steel plate printers. Metal, stone and wood were all used to produce illustrations. Many printers were both steel and copper-plate printers. Pigot's *London and Provincial New Commercial Directory* 1822-23 lists 21 copper-plate printers and 16 lithographic printers. By 1827 there were 51 copper-plate printers. Robson's *London Commercial Directory* lists 52 copper-plate printers in 1835.¹⁹⁰

2.14 Lithographic Printers.

Twyman has shown that by the 1840s lithographic printers were an increasingly important factor in the publication of illustrations.¹⁹¹ Lithography had replaced aquatint for coloured topographical illustrations.¹⁹² It is important to note that not all lithographic printers were producing images for topographical book illustration. Twyman usefully provides a map showing the distribution of lithographic printers in London (1801-51). In 1818 there were seven firms, rising rapidly to 23 firms by 1823. Yet out of these firms there were a mere handful that specialised in colour prints for topographical book illustration. Charles Hullmandel was one of the earliest and longer lasting firms setting up at 49, Great Marlborough Street in 1818. William Day, Day & Haghe, Day & Son had large premises off Lincolns Inn at 59 Great Queen Street. Of course the print seller, Rudolph Ackermann, had a lithographic press at 101 The Strand and was instrumental in introducing the new art of lithography to England.¹⁹³ Indeed Ackermann established the first significant lithographic press in England and published Senefelder's *Treatise* on his invention of lithography in 1818.¹⁹⁴ Ackermann's first book with lithographic plates was probably *Incidents of British bravery during the late campaigns on the continent* with 16 lithographs signed J. Atkinson and dated May-July 1817.¹⁹⁵ It is also worth noting that the lithographic firms were not in the area of traditional book production around St Paul's Churchyard.

¹⁹⁰ Hunnisett, *Steel-engraved book illustration in England* (London, 1980) op. cit p.198, estimates that there were about 30 printers involved in the production of steel engravings.

¹⁹¹ Michael Twyman, *A Directory of London Lithographic Printers 1800-1850* (London, 1976) and *Lithography 1800-1850: the techniques of drawing on stone in England and France and their application in works of topography* (London, 1970).

¹⁹² Lithography for topographical illustration will be dealt with in Chapter 5 when discussing the oeuvre of Thomas Allom who used the process throughout the 1830s including 3 lithographs by Allom after David Roberts in *Picturesque Sketches in Spain* (1837).

¹⁹³ J. R. Abbey's three major publications are a landmark in studies on lithography:

Life in England in aquatint and lithography 1770-1860 (London, 1953).

Scenery of Great Britain and Ireland in aquatint and lithography 1770-1860 (London, 1952).

Travel in aquatint and lithography 1770-1860 (London, 1956, 1957).

¹⁹⁴ John Ford, *Rudolph Ackermann (1764-1834)*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2006.

¹⁹⁵ Marlborough Rare Books (2003), *Catalogue 194*, p.4, no.7.

2.15 *Annuals* and *Keepsakes*.

An important influence on the production of serial publications with topographical illustrations were the *Annuals* and *Keepsakes* which used steel engravings for their illustrations.¹⁹⁶ Hunnisett states ‘that the first book to benefit from steel engraving was the newly created *Annual* derived from the German pocket book’.¹⁹⁷ Certainly the *Annual* was designed as a gift book to be given as a present at Christmas, the New Year or other important times such as Birthdays or Anniversaries which may derive from the German tradition, although Feather suggests that magazines and part books had a long French tradition with origins in the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁸ The Advertisement inside the first of Rudolph Ackermann’s *Forget-Me-Not* *Annuals* of 1823 states that:

The British Public is here presented with the first attempt to rival the numerous and elegant publications of the Continent, expressly designed to serve as tokens of remembrance, friendship, or affection, at that season of the year which ancient custom has particularly consecrated to the interchange of such memorials.¹⁹⁹

Looking back on a long life in publishing John Britton had the following to say about the *Annuals*:

A history of this literary family, the *Annuals*, would embrace much curious anecdote, biography, exposition of art and artists; of professional and amateur authors; of trade, manufacturers, and commerce; of fashion, fame and frivolity; and last, though not least, the fluctuation and caprices of taste and tone. The *Annuals*, which were so popular and profitable to a Heath, and a Fisher, twenty years ago, are now superseded, and a totally different and new species has been introduced by Messrs. Longman & Co and by Virtue, in which topography, history, travels and substantial literature are the basis.²⁰⁰

Rudolph Ackermann is credited with the first use of steel engraved illustrations to a literary annual in the *Forget-Me-Not* of 1825 [fig. 27]. In 1822 there had only been one annual (Ackermann’s), three in 1824, nine in 1825 and sixty-two by 1831.²⁰¹ Charles Heath had been one of the first to use steel engraved plates and his *Keepsake* annuals [fig. 28] ran from 1828 to 1857. Charles Heath was born in 1785, the son of the engraver James Heath.²⁰² From the 1820s he published prints and supervised other engravers. He developed the idea of picturesque annuals and around 1825 had a whole stable of part publications with names like *The Bijou*, *Friendship’s Offering* (in 1827 owned by Smith, Elder and Co), *The Keepsake*, *The*

¹⁹⁶ Frederick W Faxon, *Literary Annuals and Gift Books: A Bibliography 1823-1903* (London, 1912) and Andrew Boyle, *An Index to the Annuals* (Worcester, 1967).

¹⁹⁷ Hunnisett, *Engraved on Steel* (Aldershot, 1998) op. cit. p.121. See also chapter 8, p.135ff for a comprehensive survey of the *Annuals*.

¹⁹⁸ John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London, 1988), pp.105-114.

¹⁹⁹ Advertisement in the front of *Forget-Me-Not* *Annual*, 1823.

²⁰⁰ John Britton, *Autobiography* (London, 1850), p.246.

²⁰¹ see Appendix 2 for a select list of *Annuals*.

²⁰² See *ODNB/65036* for Heath Family; *ODNB/12837* for James Heath and *ODNB/12831* for Charles Heath.

Amulet, Beauty's Costume, The Book of Beauty and Portraits of Children of the Nobility [figs. 29 & 30]. But in 1827 he overstretched himself with an ambitious part publication called *Picturesque Views in England and Wales* in collaboration with Turner. The original agreement was for 120 watercolours to be produced by Turner which would then be engraved and published. By 1838 Turner had produced 100 watercolours of which 96 were engraved. It seems Turner was inspired by a book for which he had hand-coloured the plates many years earlier called *Picturesque Views of the Antiquities of England and Wales* by Henry Boswell published in 1786. Indeed 58 views were of the same subjects.²⁰³ In 1827 the first three parts of *Picturesque Views in England and Wales* were published. The first part contained four copper-plate engravings (not steel) at 14 shillings per part. The costs were great with payments to the engravers of £100 per plate (£9,600) and payment to Turner at an average of £25-30 per drawing (£2,400-2,880) and then the paper, copper-plates and printing costs of £3,000-5,000, making an estimated total of £14,000-17,480.²⁰⁴ Of the 19 engravers employed on the project from 1827-38 many were to engrave the works of Allom and Bartlett including: E. Goodall, R. Wallis, W. R. Smith, J. C. Varrall, R. Brandard, W. Miller, J. T. Willmore, W. Radclyffe, J. B. Allen, J. H. Kernot, J. Horsburgh, T. Jeavons, W. J. Cooke, T. Higham, J. Redaway and S. Fisher.

The use of the word *Keepsake* was borrowed by other publications and has become generic for this type of literature. The *Keepsake* or *Keepseake* (sic) even crossed the Channel to France where it proved very popular.²⁰⁵

Charles Heath had first approached the publisher John Murray to go in with him in 1826 on the production of an annual to rival Rudolph Ackermann's *Forget-Me-Not*. The success of Ackermann's Annuals had been phenomenal. John Ford has estimated that Ackermann sold 20,000 copies of his annual in the first year, a highly respectable figure when compared to the sale of a topographical illustrated book of perhaps 1,000 copies. Each copy contained 13 copper-plate engravings so would require 260,000 prints.²⁰⁶ In a letter dated 24 October 1826 Heath wrote:

²⁰³ See Eric Shanes, *Turner's Picturesque Views in England and Wales* (London, 1979), pp. 15-19.

²⁰⁴ Shanes' estimate of the costs, in *Turner's Picturesque Views* op. cit. p. 15 and note 35.

²⁰⁵ See Vicaire 'Keepsakes 1823-69' in *Manuel de l'amateur de livres*; and the article by B. H. Gausseron 'Les Keepsakes et les Annuaire Illustrés de l'époque romantique' in *Le Courrier du Livre* (10 & 25 Nov. and 10 & 25 Dec. 1895).

²⁰⁶ John Ford, *Ackermann 1783-1983: the business of art* (London, 1983), pp. 63-65.

I have commenced a work similar to the *Forget-Me-Not* ... I think so splendid a work as could be brought out by our united exertions, and with your influence, would take the lead in this sort of publication and we should divide annually very considerable profit...²⁰⁷

Murray could not or would not oblige. Seventy banks had failed in late 1825 leading to a financial panic in 1826 in which, among others, Hurst, Robinson & Co, who had previously bought the prints stock of the bankrupt Boydell, crashed on 14 January 1826.²⁰⁸ Heath linked up with Hurst, Chance & Co. and the printseller Robert Jennings. By early 1831 Robert Jennings, who was co-publisher and printseller with Heath for *Picturesque Views in England and Wales* and in partnership with William Chaplin, sold out his share to Moon, Boys and Graves. Heath was in financial trouble and in 1831 Longmans took over Heath's publications.²⁰⁹

An article in *The Bookseller* of 1858 by the former editor of the *Art Journal*, Samuel Carter Hall,²¹⁰ reveals that the *Keepsake* of 1828 sold between 12,000 -15,000 copies and cost 11,000 guineas to produce. Hall gives more information for the 1829 *Keepsake* stating that sales totalled £90,000 and that 20,000 copies were sold in the first month. Unfortunately he does not give the final figures for the total number sold nor the number printed in relation to this figure. However, he does give a breakdown of the costs of producing the annual:

Authors and Editors £6,000
Painters for Pictures or Copyrights £3,000
Engravers £12,000
Copper-plate Printers £5,000
Letter-Press Printers £5,000
Paper Manufacturers £6,000
Book-Binders £6,000
Silk Manufacturers and Leather Sellers £500
Advertisements £2000
Incidental Expenses £1500

He rounds off these costs at £50,000. It is revealing to see how much more engravers received than artists.²¹¹ To these must be added the Retail Bookseller's profits of £30,000 and a 10% Publisher's profit of £10,000. It is likely that Hall relied on previous articles in the *Art Union*

²⁰⁷ J. Heath, *The Heath Family Engravers 1779-1878* (London, 1993), p.24.

²⁰⁸ Francis Graham Moon purchased Hurst Robinson's stock and formed a new firm of Moon, Boys and Graves in Pall Mall, Printsellers and Publishers. W.H. Bartlett married Susanna Moon, niece to F. G. Moon in 1831. For Francis Graham Moon see *ODNB/19086*.

²⁰⁹ See Records of British Publishing, Longman group, at University of Reading Library, ref. MS 1393. They hold some of Longmans ledger accounts such as ledger expenses for the *Keepsakes* of 1842 and 1843. This provided some very useful information about payments made to the Countess of Blessington.

²¹⁰ S. C. Hall, 'The Annuals of Former Days' in *The Bookseller*, 29 November 1858 p.498. For Samuel Carter Hall see *ODNB/11987*. Hall was editor of an early annual *The Amulet* (1825-36); see Hunnisett, *Steel-engraved book illustration* (1980), op. cit. p.141.

²¹¹ However engravers often thought of themselves as hard done by and lacking in recognition. Hunnisett, *Steel engraved book illustration* (1980) op. cit. p. 56 mentions a letter of protest to the R.A. of 10 July 1826 signed by the following eminent engravers: John Le Keux, Henry Le Keux, John Burnet, George Cooke, Edward Goodall, John Henry Robinson, W. Finden, John Pye and George T. Doo.

of 1839 and 1842 (forerunner to the *Art Journal*).²¹² Yet in these articles the costs are slightly different with only £4,000 for plate printers as opposed to a combined total of £10,000 for copper-plate and letter-press printers, £3,000 for advertising instead of £2,000, £5,500 for Paper, £9,000 for Binding and £4,000 for Silk and Leather. Costs for Engravers, Artists and Authors remain the same, making a combined total of £46,500 as opposed to £47,000 in the *Art Journal* estimate.

Heath was very ambitious about the authors he could secure and this is seen in the cost of £6000 for authors and editors. An advertisement in the *Literary Gazette* of October 1828 announces the forthcoming publication of the second *Keepsake* for 1829 in the following month and among the eminent contributors are listed: Sir Walter Scott, Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, William Roscoe, Shelley, W. Jerdan, Mrs Hemans, Miss Landon, the author of *Frankenstein* etc. We will see later how Heath economised on these celebrity authors and their fees. It also offers a correction stating that in the previous advertisement the name of Mr Moore was introduced 'who is not a contributor'. Ten years later in 1838 Robert Fisher approaches Thomas Moore to ask him to edit and write for Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* (see this chapter 2.16).

Heath did not neglect the celebrity artists either and employed Sir Thomas Lawrence, Thomas Stothard, Richard Westall, J.M.W. Turner, Edwin Landseer and Henry Corbould. The engravers listed were Charles Heath, who provided ten of the plates, C. Rolls, R. Wallis, E. Portbury and J. Goodyear.²¹³

One of the great innovations of Heath's *Keepsake Annuals* is the packaging of the product. The *Keepsake* was available in two versions, advertised as a 'post octavo' volume, measuring 7 ½ x 4 ¾ inches (octavo is usually about 8 x 5 inches) costing 13 shillings or the 'large paper' copy (Royal Octavo 10 inches tall) costing £2.12s 6d. Both contained 18 'highly finished' engravings. The plates for the 1828 *Keepsake* were printed by McQueen and dated 1827.²¹⁴ But what distinguished this *Annual* from the others was the binding. Heath purchased watered silk at three shillings a yard in 1828²¹⁵ and the silk was used on the cover of the 1828

²¹² *Art Union* vol 4, 1842 p. 288 and Vol 1, 1839, p. 172.

²¹³ *Literary Gazette*, Saturday 25 October 1828, p. 688.

²¹⁴ *Literary Gazette*, 19 January 1828, p. 48.

²¹⁵ Michael Sadleir, *The Evolution of Publishers' Binding Styles, 1770-1900* (London, 1930), p. 40.

Keepsake Annual.²¹⁶ [see fig. 28] This may account for the discrepancy in the costs in the above set of figures and explain the increased binding and silk and leather costs of £9,000 and £4,000. The *Keepsake* was bound in crimson watered silk whereas the *Amulet* was bound in green silk. In a forgotten novel by the daughter of James Fenimore Cooper, *Elinor Wyllys: or the Young Folk of Longbridge, a Tale* there is an allusion to the annuals:

I always have *the Book of Beauty*, whenever it comes out; you know they are likenesses of the Peeresses of the English Nobility. I have the *Children of the Nobility* too, bound in crimson silk; it is a very fascinating collection.²¹⁷

The physical appearance of the *Annuals* was a major marketing tool intended to attract potential customers to buy them as gift-books. They were ‘handsomely’ or ‘richly’ or ‘elegantly’ bound in morocco or half morocco leather, silk, cloth or even occasionally velvet or satin and had decorated stamped or embossed covers, often with a central vignette blocked in gold, with gilt edged leaves, all giving the impression of a luxury product for between twelve shillings to a guinea per volume. The emphasis is on women and the *Annuals* were usually published before Christmas and the New Year and intended to be given by gentlemen admirers to their intended as a token of their affection. In the novel *Middlemarch*, George Eliot creates a provincial society around Coventry in the years immediately before the Reform Act of 1832. One of the male characters, Ned Plymdale presents Rosamond Vincy with the *Keepsake Annual*:

He had brought the last *Keepsake*, the gorgeous watered-silk publication which marked modern progress at that time; and he considered himself very fortunate that he could be the first to look over it with her, dwelling on the ladies and gentlemen with shiny copper-plate cheeks and copper-plate smiles, and pointing to comic verses and capital and sentimental stories as interesting. Rosamond was gracious, and Mr. Ned was satisfied that he had the very best thing in art and literature as a medium for ‘paying addresses’ – the very thing to please a nice girl.²¹⁸

It is significant that George Eliot describes the illustrations as being copper-plate rather than steel engravings; copper-plate gives them an old fashioned feel and, although steel was a new medium in the period she was describing, by the early 1830s, the period she set her novel in, the plates in the *Keepsake* were steel not copper. Indeed the illustrations played the primary role in the success of the *Annuals*. Eliot describes Ned as ‘looking over’ the *Annual*, not

²¹⁶ Many of the extant *Annuals* have a binding ticket on the inside cover F. Westley, Binder, Friar Street. Also J. Heath, *The Heath Family Engravers* op. cit. vol.2, p.55 believes that Heath saw an opportunity to buy up Spitalfields silk during a slump.

²¹⁷ Reference to this obscure novel *Elinor Wyllys: or, The Young Folk of Longbridge. A Tale* by Amabel Penfeather (pseudonym of Susan Fenimore Cooper 1813-94) published Carey & Hart (Philadelphia, 1846) pp53-54 from a random search on the internet for Heath’s *Annual The Children of the Nobility* published 1841, drawings by Alfred E. Chalon R.A. and edited by Mrs. Fairlie, Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman. The excerpt comes from the James Fenimore Cooper Society website: www.external.oneonta.edu/cooper/susan updated June 2008.

²¹⁸ George Eliot, *Middlemarch* (1872) Book III (published in serial form 1871-72) chapter 27, p.273. There are numerous references to this scene on the internet. One of the best sites is dedicated to *The Keepsake*, edited by Terence Hoagwood (Texas A&M University) and Kathryn Ledbetter (Texas State University): www.rc.umd.edu However my attention was drawn by a good description of this scene in a paper by Simon. R. Frost, Department of Aesthetics and Culture, Institute of Aesthetic Disciplines, Aarhus University, Denmark entitled *Aesthetics and Economics in a 19th century Novel*, paper presented to the NAES Conference 2004, Aarhus, Denmark. www.hum.au.dk

exactly reading it. The patronising tone suggests lower middle class associations deftly observed by Eliot.

In *Bleak House* Charles Dickens also has a dig at this type of publication:

What Mr. Weevle (Tony Jobling) prizes most... is a choice collection of copper-plate impressions from that truly national work the *Divinities of Albion* or *Gallery of British Beauty*, representing ladies of title and fashion in every variety of smirk that art, combined with capital, is capable of producing.²¹⁹

The Preface to *The Continental Annual and Romantic Cabinet* for 1832, containing 13 engraved plates after views by Samuel Prout, proclaims:

It has been frequently remarked concerning the class of periodicals of which the volume now submitted to the public is the youngest, that they present too uniform a resemblance to each other, and that, while increasing in number, their object and plan make no corresponding advances toward novelty and originality.²²⁰

However, whilst claiming novelty it is worth noting that Prout had exhibited the same German subjects at the Old Watercolour Society from 1826 onwards. Indeed the publishers, Smith, Elder & Co., had already boasted that their other annual, *Friendship's Offering*, was 'with one exception, the oldest of the English Annuals' in 1828. One can see that the publishers were looking to recycle images but at the same time give the impression of novelty. The novelty here was to create an annual with views abroad that might interest the public. The text of the *Annuals* was generally subservient to the illustrations and was a mixture of Romantic, nostalgic and exotic. This might not have been the original intention of Heath and publishers of the earlier *Annuals* as great efforts were made at first to attract leading contemporary authors to contribute by offering high fees. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Scott and Southey were persuaded to contribute for a fee of one hundred guineas. These formerly Radical 'guest' writers added to the reputation of the early *Annuals* but the publishers soon turned to less well known contributors, particularly women which has been referred to as the 'Silver Fork Society'.²²¹ Presumably not just because of their connections, but also because they were less expensive to employ and because *Annuals* were aimed at women. This trend was noticed by the critic of *The Monthly Review* in his article on *The Annuals of 1831*:

They seem to be multiplying upon us as rapidly as butterflies, when the summer comes, and with almost as little reflection, as much beauty and merriment, and quite as short a tenure of existence. They dazzle

²¹⁹ Charles Dickens, *Bleak House* (London, 1853), p. 296.

²²⁰ *The Continental Annual and Romantic Cabinet* for 1832, with illustrations by Samuel Prout, edited by William Kennedy, published by Smith, Elder & Co. (London, 1832). See Appendix 2 under list of annuals.

²²¹ Alison Adburgham, *Silver Fork Society: Fashionable Life and Literature from 1814 to 1840* (London, 1983).

at first, and are pursued for a while, but their highly coloured attractions soon fade, and, poor things, they become shamefully neglected.

We have, long since, thought that the business of *Annuals* was overdone... the market is glutted, the public are satiated...

The rivalry amongst them has been principally directed towards the embellishments; to captivate the eye has been the great object.

(They have) not yet reached their lowest point of literary worthlessness, yet we cannot contend that they are very far from it.

(They are) becoming the prey of a herd of inferior writers, whose names are unknown in any other branch of letters.... (it may appeal) to some dull patrician, who thinks he can shine in print...

The Keepsake is ... bad literary taste with high excellence in art, invited by a ruby silk binding, gilt edging and a glorious company of engravings, to a banquet, apparently magnificent, we lift the shining covers and find nothing beneath them, except attenuated slices of cold ham, a few unsavoury stews, thin gruel for soup, tough mutton for venison and tanned leather for pastry. It does raise our ire to see so much costly preparation thrown away...

The critic is appalled that these *Annuals* are sent abroad to Germany and France full of 'paltry tales' and that the first example he perused was 'a namby-pamby gossiping essay upon a liaison, which subsisted between the celebrated Lord Chesterfield and Lady Fanny Shirley!'²²²

2.16 Drawing-Room, Library or Boudoir: Silver Fork Publications and the Blessington Set.

In his biography of Charles Dickens, Peter Ackroyd discusses Dickens's aesthetic.²²³ According to Ackroyd, one of the enduring aesthetic concepts of the period is the belief in the social purpose or social dimensions of art. There had to be some connection with the life of the time. For Dickens, Ackroyd argues, this was key to the novel's authenticity and one can categorise his novels of the 1840s as 'social novels'. Ackroyd states that the old interest of the 'silver fork' school of novelists, in aristocratic life, had come to an end. People wanted to see the world around them in detail and in verisimilitude, with realism and moral earnestness that made sense of the world and in which they could see a moral design leading to an ultimate truth.

In the world of publishing these divisions were not so clear cut. With the popularity of the *Annuals*, *Keepsakes* or *Drawing Room Scrap Books* there is certainly a clear moral purpose behind most of the texts but when one looks at the authors, they are a very mixed bunch. Representing the 'Silver Fork' School are the Countess of Blessington,²²⁴ Catherine Gore,²²⁵

²²² *The Monthly Review*, January-April 1831, Article IV, *The Annuals of 1831* pp. 47-49.

²²³ Peter Ackroyd, *Dickens* (London, 1991), pp. 489ff.

²²⁴ For Lady Blessington see *ODNB/2640* and Michael Sadleir, *Blessington- D'Orsay. A Masquerade* (London, 1933).

²²⁵ For Catherine Grace Frances Gore see *ODNB/11091*.

Sara Stickney Ellis (Mrs Ellis),²²⁶ Emma Roberts and the prolific 'L. E. L.' (Letitia Elizabeth Landon).²²⁷ Lady Blessington's life was surrounded by scandal, Landon ended up marrying a rogue and died in mysterious circumstances and Caroline Norton, editor of Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* in 1846, 1848 and 1849, had, ten years earlier in 1836, an affair with the Prime Minister Lord Melbourne which led to an adultery trial.²²⁸ These were the stalwarts who regularly wrote for or edited these publications, supplemented by a few 'big fish' of the literary world when they could be persuaded to contribute or when the publishers decided that it would be a good marketing idea. Mrs Ellis is credited with 218 pieces of writing in six different annuals.²²⁹

What the publishers were interested in was, to use an accountancy term, the bottom line. They needed to shift as many books as possible. The *Annuals* proved a useful marketing tool as they had developed into rather a tradition of being genteel gifts given around Christmas and the New Year by gentlemen to their lady friends. This packaging of the *Annuals* had benefits for firms such as Fisher, Son & Co. Firstly they could re-use certain selected topographical plates from their illustrated series of travel books and at the same time promote their latest publications in their own Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book*. Secondly they could rival the *Keepsake* by packaging their own annual in the same elegant manner.²³⁰

The Battle of the *Annuals*: The *Keepsake* contained 18 plates; Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* had 36 plates and Jennings's *Landscape Annual* 26 plates.

Fisher was a late arrival and entered the race for *Annuals* in 1832, four years after the *Keepsake* (1828-57) and two years after Jennings's *Landscape Annual* (1830-39). The *Drawing Room Scrap Book* (1832-52) [fig.31] was launched the same year as *The Picturesque Annual* (1832-45) published by Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman [fig. 32]. Fisher must have sensed a commercial advantage and the profits to be

²²⁶ Brooks, *Thomas Allom* op. cit. p.38 and p.105, says that 'Mrs Ellis's texts no doubt cast a shadow of gloom over the festive season for a large section of her exclusively female middle-class public'. Mrs Ellis was married to the Congregationalist missionary William Ellis and they were both involved in the Temperance Movement. For Mrs Sarah Ellis see *ODNB/8711*.

²²⁷ See Glenn T. Himes, A Comprehensive Index and Bibliography to the Poetical Works of Letitia Elizabeth Landon in *Letitia Elizabeth Landon : Selected Writings* (Eds. Jerome J. McGann and David Reiss (Ontario, 1998).

²²⁸ see T. A. Hoagwood and K. Ledbetter, "Colour'd Shadows" *Contexts in Publishing, Printing and Reading Nineteenth century British women writer* (New York, 2005), chapter 3, p.47: Scandal as commodity and the 'calumniated woman'.

²²⁹ This information comes from a very useful resource : Katherine Harris *Forget-Me-Not A Hypertextual Archive of Ackermann's 19th century Literary Annual*, 18 January 2007 in *Poetess Archive*, general editor Laura Mandell at www.orgs.muohio.edu/anthologies/FMN

²³⁰ For example Works published by Fisher in 1843 were advertised as follows: 'Unique and Elegant Volume. Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* – Embellished with thirty-six highly finished Line Engravings, embracing Portraits, Landscapes, Historical and Scripture Subjects, &c.&c. With Poetical Illustrations by the Author of *The Women of England* (Mrs Ellis). Quarto, elegantly bound with design in gold covering the sides, One Guinea.

made in producing an annual and had seen the success of the competition. His annual contained more plates than the others and he hired Letitia Elizabeth Landon as editor (1832-39). The plates might be for the most part topographic, taken as they were from Fisher's series of publications with views, but the letter-press that accompanied them was often completely out of context from the reason that the plates were made. Now poetry or short stories sat unhappily with the engravings after Allom or Bartlett. The following year Heath began his *Book of Beauty* (1833-49), published by Longmans, again with Letitia Elizabeth Landon as editor for 1833, followed the next year by Lady Blessington. The *Book of Beauty* purported to contain the portraits of leading society ladies accompanied by appropriate prose or poetry.

George Virtue only produced one Annual, *The Scenic Annual* for 1838, edited by Thomas Campbell. It contained 36 engravings and was priced at 21 shillings which consciously copies Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* for both price and the number of plates. A review in the *Literary Gazette* suggests it was put together hurriedly within two months and that it was 'richly bound in blue Saxony with gilt leaves'.²³¹ The engravings were taken from either previously issued Virtue publications or those in the course of publication, including *Switzerland Illustrated* (published in book form 1836, but part publication began in 1834), *American Scenery* (part publication began in 1838) and *The Waldenses* (1838) with designs mainly after Bartlett. However, there are a few after Allom and Clarkson Stanfield from *Scotland Illustrated* (Virtue, published in book form 1838, but part publication began in 1835 see 5.14).

Apart from recycling the images the *Annuals* proved popular abroad. For example Fisher's *Gage d'Amitié* (1834-41), the first volume called *The Northern Tourist* [fig. 33] which came out in 1834 (although dated 1833) was translated into French and was sold not only in Paris but Brussels, Berlin and Saint Petersburg. Fisher produced other *Annuals* such as *Easter Gift* (1834), *Christian Keepsake and Missionary Annual* [fig. 34] (1835-38), *Juvenile Scrap Book* (1836-50), *Fisher's National Portrait Gallery* (1830-33), *Fisher's Oriental Keepsake* (1837-39) and the *Waverley Forget-Me-Not* (1838).

An advertisement for Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* of 1838, containing 36 highly-finished engravings, handsomely bound, 21 shillings, is typical: this quarto sized volume was

²³¹ *Literary Gazette*, 23 December 1837, no. 1092, p. 812 for the review and p. 823 for the advertisement. See also Faxon, *Annuals*, 1128.

promoted for its 'novel and unique style of binding', its 'literary matter' (original poems by L. E. L.). The publisher describes it as a 'Lady-like Quarto' and a 'persuasive to Conversation'. The latter remark was expanded upon as it was explained that:

in this country, when persons meet together, a considerable time often elapses before they get into conversation, this volume breaks the charm at once. One praises the portraits, another admires the scenery, the cities, castles, mountains, lakes and magnificent structures; a third is captivated with the ornamental vignette letters; whilst others are culling the flowers of L. E. L.'s charming bouquet of poems.

Among Landon's titles were *Flowers of Loveliness* (1837), *The Golden Violet with its tales of Romance and Chivalry* (1827) and *The Zenana and Minor Poems of Letitia Elizabeth Landon with a memoir by her early and intimate friend Emma Roberts*, published by Fisher, Son & Co., in 1839.²³² This genre of publication was described by Samuel Carter Hall as butterfly-books.²³³

By 1838 this type of work was so over-produced as to have become hackneyed and the public seems to have already tired of them – hence the rather desperate sounding explanation of what four ladies would (presumably) be attracted to, although the copywriter is rather ambitious in his claim that one might be captivated with the ornamental vignette letters. One is reminded of the vignette illustrations (wood engraving) by Samuel Palmer for Charles Dickens' *Pictures from Italy* (1846) particularly the opening vignette of an elegant 'I'.²³⁴ The advert for the *Christian Keepsake* of the same year (1838) rather gives the game away: 'It is one of the few publications of this class which deserves a place in the Library for the permanent value of its contents, and the intrinsic interest of the embellishments' (*Eclectic Review*). In other words most of these types of publication were otherwise ephemeral.

Alaric Watts, who for many years was editor of one of the more serious annuals which started life as the *Literary Souvenir* then became the *Cabinet of Modern Art* (1825-37), reflected in his memoirs that:

These *annual books*, beautiful and tasteful as they are, have yet something now about them a little artificial. They seem more fitted to be turned over as a toy on the drawing-room table, than cherished as a memory in the little bookcase of the secret chamber. In a word the *Annual* has become a fashion.²³⁵

²³² Emma Roberts edited for Fisher *Views in India* (1836/7) after views by the amateur artist Lieutenant George Francis White. Issued in 12 parts with 3 plates each. For Emma Roberts see *ODNB*/23747.

²³³ Samuel Carter Hall, 'The Annuals of Former Days', *The Bookseller*, Nov. 29, 1858, pp. 93-99.

²³⁴ Samuel Palmer's *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli from the cypress avenue*, wood engraving for Charles Dickens' *Pictures in Italy* (London, 1846). David Paroissien, introduction and notes, (London, 1973).

²³⁵ Alaric Alfred Watts, *Alaric Watts - A narrative of his life* (London, 1884), vol. II, p.49.

The combination of literature and illustration however was still a powerful attraction. In 1838 Fisher, Son & Co. promoted Fisher's *Waverley Forget-Me-Not*, a first series of *Scotland and Scott Illustrated*.²³⁶ Walter Scott had died in 1832. The illustrations were after 'original landscape-historical' drawings by J.M.W. Turner R.A. etc., and additional illustrations by George Cruikshank.²³⁷ By 1840 Fisher were advertising another version of the 'Scott' book, *Landscape Historical Illustrations of Scotland and the Waverley Novels*, text by G. N. Wright, a series of 108 engravings from original drawings by Turner, Maclise, G. Cruikshank, Linnell, Allom, Balmer,²³⁸ Davis etc., etc. Two quarto volumes handsomely bound. Price £2.6s.

If one considers designs after Allom in connection with Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book*, a pattern can be seen. Out of 36 engravings in the 1832 volume, five are after Allom. They are all from *Cornwall Illustrated* (first published as *Devon and Cornwall Illustrated* in 1831). In 1843 out of 36 engravings, nine are after Allom taken from *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor* (1838), from *Views in India* (c.1836-37), from *Syria, the Holy Land and Asia Minor Illustrated* (1838) and Mrs Ellis's *Family Secrets* (1841). In 1844, nine engravings after Allom are taken from *Constantinople; Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* (1832) and Mrs Ellis. In 1845 there are ten engravings after Allom from *China Illustrated* (1843), *Constantinople* and Mrs Ellis.

It seems that designs in the *Drawing Room Scrap Book* after Allom are always taken from illustrated books that had already been published. Therefore the plates have been re-used and not specially commissioned for the *Drawing Room Scrap Book*. Often they are used to draw attention and to promote a recently published book such as the Mrs Ellis books²³⁹ or *China Illustrated* or *Devon and Cornwall Illustrated*.²⁴⁰ The advertisement in the back of the 1844 *Drawing Room Scrap Book* promotes *China Illustrated* and says that it is 'now ready, containing 33 highly finished Engravings, elegantly bound, price one guinea, The First Volume'. When published in book form *China Illustrated* contained 127 plates after Allom. Often the re-issues after Allom present the plates in a different context from their original

²³⁶ Fisher had to invert their title as *Scott and Scotland* by L. Ritchie had already been published by Longmans in 1835. For Duncan see ODNB/23678.

²³⁷ *Sketches by Boz*, the first Cruikshank-Dickens collaboration had been published with great success in February 1836, the month Dickens began his first novel *Pickwick Papers*, which was also illustrated and serialised.

²³⁸ For George Balmer see ODNB/1243.

²³⁹ *Family Secrets* (1841) contains 26 plates after Allom, *The Daughters of England* (1842) contains 2 plates after Allom, and *The Wives of England* (1843) contains one plate after Allom. See Chapter 5.18, 5.20 & 5.25.

²⁴⁰ Brooks, *Thomas Allom* op. cit. p.104, note 44, states that 33 of Allom's designs for *Constantinople and Asia Minor* appear between 1839 and 1851.

publication; the text following the plate with little obvious connection, which leads to some rather uninspired, insipid poetry or moralizing.

Mrs Gore's *Paris in 1841*, although containing 18 plates after Allom, was published not by Fisher but by Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans in 1842 [fig. 35]. It was part of *The Picturesque Annual* series (1832-45) often known as *Heath's Picturesque Annual*, as Heath, after the demise of the partnership between Hurst Chance & Co & Jennings and Chaplin, moved or transferred ownership of *The Keepsake* to Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green in 1832 until 1845. In 1841 Heath's *Picturesque Annual – Belgium* [fig. 36] with text by Thomas Roscoe and 16 plates after Allom was published.²⁴¹ Both books were marketed in Paris by Fisher, Son & Company's office there. It seems the rival publishing houses were not above a little bit of continental collaboration. Thomas Roscoe (the son of William Roscoe) had worked for the rival Jennings' *Landscape Annual* from 1830-38 and had written the text for their annuals including *The Tourist in Switzerland and Italy* (1830) with engravings after Samuel Prout and the three volumes of *The Tourist in Spain* (1836-38) with engravings after David Roberts.²⁴²

In the early 1830s *The Monthly Review* had attacked Roscoe's contribution in a swingeing review entitled *The Annuals of 1831*:

Mr Thomas Roscoe styles himself, not the editor, but the author of *The Landscape Annual* [*The Tourist in Italy* with engravings after Samuel Prout and James Duffield Harding]. He writes a tour of Italy, where we believe he has never been, by the assistance of several writers who have visited that country; he quotes many passages from Rogers and Byron, and whole pages from books which are in the hands of everybody; and this, he thinks, is being the author of the mass of letter-press which explains the embellishments! Had he acknowledged, what is really the fact, that he is simply a collector on this occasion, we should have given him the credit of having well arranged a very respectable compilation....

Indeed Thomas Roscoe's career was prolific and can, in retrospect, be seen as that of a jobbing journalist or hack writer with works such as *The London and Birmingham Railway* (London, 1839) and *The Book of the Grand Junction Railway* (London, 1839) both published by Charles Tilt. The same critic in 1831 criticises Thomas Roscoe's editorship of *The Remembrance*, an Annual published by Jennings and Chaplin (London, 1831): 'The Roscoe family lend to it all the popularity of a name distinguished in our literature but little more'.

The critic then turns his attention to the engravings:

²⁴¹ For Thomas Roscoe see *ODBN/24083*.

²⁴² Jennings paid Roberts £20 a drawing, £420 for 21 views and after publication, the publisher sold the same drawings for £40 each.

We defy the most imaginative mind to form an idea of Venice, from the sketch which Mr Prout has given it. A crowd of people, a canal, a boat and part of its sails, a fragment of a portico, with a lamp suspended therein, a church, two pillars, and two or three palaces; these are called Venice! Truly it required the name to be written beneath, to inform us what the painter intended to produce.²⁴³

Heath engaged Roscoe after the failure of Jennings's *Landscape Annual*. Yet in April 1840 Charles Heath sold his stock of engravings accumulated since 1826 and went bankrupt in 1841.

Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* for 1832 also contains four engravings after Bartlett all taken from G. N. Wright's *Ireland Illustrated* published by Fisher in 1831. A further ten plates are taken from drawings supplied by the amateur artist Captain Robert Elliot²⁴⁴ of his *Views in the East, India, Canton and the Red Sea*, text by Emma Roberts and drawings after Prout, Stanfield, Cattermole, Purser, Cox, Austin etc. from original drawings supplied by Captain Elliot, some of the plates are dated 1831. The text in the *Drawing Room Scrap Book* states 'with poetical illustrations by L. E. L.'. In her introduction Landon comments:

It is not an easy thing to write illustrations to prints, selected rather for their pictorial excellence than their poetic capabilities; and mere description is certainly not the most popular species of composition... a book like this is a literary luxury, addressed chiefly to a young and gentler class of readers....

As well as editing *The Drawing Room Scrap Books* of 1832-1839, Landon continued to work on Fisher publications, for example *The Easter Gift* (elegantly bound in silk, price 7s.), and on Heath's *Book of Beauty* in 1833 as editor, then as a contributor under the editorship of Lady Blessington published by Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman. When Landon gave up the editorship in 1838, Robert Fisher went down in person to see the author Thomas Moore (1779-1852) in December 1838 and asked him to write and edit for *The Drawing Room Scrap Book* but was curtly refused.²⁴⁵ Moore explained he had received 3000 guineas for *Lallah Rookh*.²⁴⁶ Already in December 1836 Moore had refused offers from the publisher Bentley to write three volumes of an *Eastern Tale* for £1400, and a similar request from Charles Heath to write a volume on an *Eastern Tale* at £1000 a volume (royal octavo, 350 pages, 27 or 28 lines per page). Ackermann also asked if he would write 12 short poems illustrative of 12 drawings of females entitled *Flowers of Lovelines*.²⁴⁷ Fisher pressed his case

²⁴³ *The Monthly Review*, January-April 1831, Article IV: *The Annuals for 1831*, pp. 47-59.

²⁴⁴ For Captain Robert James Elliot see *ODNB*/8669.

²⁴⁵ This must be Robert Fisher, as Henry Fisher had died in 1837.

²⁴⁶ see Terence Allen Hoagwood and Kathryn Ledbetter, "Colour'd Shadows" *Contexts in Publishing, Printing and Reading Nineteenth century British women writers* (New York, 2005) p. 86, original source *Journals of Thomas Moore*, 6 vols, edited Wilfred S. Dowden (Newark, University of Delaware, 1988).

²⁴⁷ *Journals of Thomas Moore*, edited Wilfred Dowden (Newark, University of Delaware, 1988) vol. 5, (for 1836-1842), p.1974 and pp. 2026-27.

and wrote to Moore from Devizes on December 15, 1838 and offered £500 but to no avail. Moore found out from their conversation that Landon had only received between £100-130. A portrait of Moore and a poem by Miss Landon were about to appear in *The Drawing Room Scrap Book* for 1839 and Landon had written to Moore in May 1838 telling him about it. Moore called Fisher 'the poor Newgate Street Publisher' because Fisher had travelled down from London to Moore's home at Sloperton Cottage, Bromham, Wiltshire on a wasted journey. One can understand that Fisher thought he could pull off a coup by engaging one of the giants of literature, known to be pressed for cash, and whose *Life of Byron* (1830) was the biography of the decade. Yet Moore, like many of the more recognised writers, would not consider writing for the *Annals*.

Lady Blessington edited the *Keepsake* after Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley between 1841 and 1849.²⁴⁸ The author Dr. William Beattie (1793-1873) was a member of the 'Blessington set'.²⁴⁹ Beattie was the 'friend and fellow traveller' of W. H. Bartlett and wrote a memoir at the death of Bartlett. Bartlett illustrated for Virtue a number of books written by Beattie such as *Switzerland Illustrated* (1836) [fig. 37], *The Waldenses Illustrated* (1838) [fig. 38], *Scotland Illustrated* (1838-40) [fig. 39], *The Danube Illustrated* (1842), *Castles and Abbeys of England* (1844), and *The Ports, Harbours and Watering Places and Coast Scenery of Great Britain* (1842).

The American, Nathaniel Parker Willis, originally foreign correspondent for the *New York Mirror*, came to Europe in 1831 and travelled extensively. He became a member of the Blessington set and it was no doubt through contacts with the Countess of Blessington (editor of *The Keepsake*, 1841-49) or Dr. Beattie that he was engaged to write the text for Bartlett's *American Scenery* (Virtue, 1840) and *Canadian Scenery* (Virtue, 1842).²⁵⁰ A series of letters from Willis to Dr Beattie indicate that Willis was still in touch with Beattie after the death of W.H. Bartlett. Samuel Carter Hall, editor of the *Art Journal*, says that he was introduced to N.P. Willis by Lady Blessington.²⁵¹

One could add that the 'Blessington set' seemed to be in the rival camp to Fisher, Son & Co., and worked with the publisher George Virtue. In the Longman collection there are a

²⁴⁸ For Lady Wortley see *ODNB*/26728.

²⁴⁹ For William Beattie see *ODNB*/1833.

²⁵⁰ N.P. Willis, *Pencilings by the way* (London, 1846), p. 353.

²⁵¹ S. C. Hall, *Retrospect of a long life* (London, 1883), p. 203.

considerable number of Commission and Expenses ledger entries relating to Heath's *Book of Beauty* and *the Keepsake*.²⁵² The following payments were made to Lady Blessington for editing:

For the *Book of Beauty*:

1842	£250	on November 29
1843	£245.16s.8d.	on October 4
1844	£248.2s.3d.	on November 23
1845	£248.2s.3d.	on November 21
1846	£247.10s.8d.	on November 8
1847	£150	on November 14

For the *Keepsake*:

1842	£250	on November 29
1843	£245.16s.8d.	on October 4
1844	£248.2s.3d.	on November 23
1845	£248.2s.3d.	on November 21
1846	£247.10s.8d.	on November 8
1847	£150	on November 14

It is noteworthy that Lady Blessington is paid towards the end of the year just as the *Annuals* are completed ready for the Christmas and New Year market. It is possible that with all her editorial work combined Lady Blessington had an annual income of some £2,000. This can be compared to Landon (LEL) who received £105 for editing Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* and between £100-120-130 for 60 pages of verse.²⁵³ Lady Blessington's contacts in the literary world were many. Her main claim to fame was her connection to Lord Byron, which she wrote about in *Conversations of Lord Byron* (Henry Colburn, 1834) It was in her salon that Charles Dickens met Hans Christian Andersen, a meeting which Dickens was to forever regret as Andersen later proved to be the guest from hell. Her literary friends tended to be exclusively male such as Disraeli, Walter Savage Landor, Bulwer Lytton, Samuel Rogers and Thomas Moore. The great advantage of having Lady Blessington as editor were her contacts. Everyone was expected to pitch in a contribution 'not for vulgar coin' but 'con amore'.²⁵⁴

2.17 Fisher's Illustrated Serial Publications.

The whole of Fisher's series of illustrated works benefited from serial publication. It was eminently suitable for topographical works as it enabled the cost and the preparation of a work to be spread over two or three years. Production could start as soon as the first drawings

²⁵² My thanks to Verity Andrews, archives assistant to Mike Bott at University of Reading Library, for providing me with photocopies from the Longman Archive. Longman Collection, ms.1393, Ledgers A2, A3, C8 and C6 at the special collections service, University of Reading.

²⁵³ In Hoagwood, op. cit. p. 86 and William St Clair, op. cit. p. 195.

²⁵⁴ Samuel Carter Hall, *The Annuals of Former Days*, *The Bookseller*, Nov. 29, 1858, pp. 493-99. Also see Michael Sadleir, *Blessington-D'Orsay, A Masquerade* (London, 1933).

or designs were received from the artist. Each month a 'Part' would appear containing, on average, four engravings and costing between one or two shillings depending on the date. The parts were issued in paper wrappers.²⁵⁵ These monthly part works contain text but 'interrupted text'.

For example, issue number 14 of Fisher's *Views in Devonshire and Cornwall* [fig. 40] has four engravings (two per page) and two pages of text (recto/verso) numbered page 57, 58, 59 and 60. However the text bears no relation to the images. The four engravings are:

1. *Torridge Canal and Rolle Aqueduct near Torrington, Devonshire* [fig. 41]
2. *Castle-Hill near South Molton, Devonshire* (plate dated 1830)
3. *Launceston Castle, Cornwall* [fig. 42]
4. *Launceston Church, Cornwall* (plate dated 1830)

The engraver for the first pair is T. Dixon and for the second pair W. Miller.

However the text begins with four lines left over from a previous part and then gives the following four titles with letter-press descriptions:

1. The Breakwater, from Mount Edgcumbe
2. Citadel, Pool, Queen Anne's Battery, &c. Plymouth
3. Clovelly, North Devon
4. Bideford Bridge and Town, North Devon

In the bound volume of *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* one finds a different order completely. *Devonshire* comprises the first 95 plates (75 after Allom) and *Cornwall* (entirely after Allom) comprises 44 plates. It seems that *Devonshire Illustrated* was published first as a complete volume in 1831 and *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* followed on as a complete entity in 1832. So issue number 14 contains two views of Devon and two of Cornwall, whereas the interrupted text only has descriptions of Devonshire. In Holloway the order is as follows with variants of spelling and title from letter press to engraved title:

- No.21 *The Breakwater, from the Mount Edgcumbe, Plymouth* W. H. Bartlett
No.22 *Citadel Pool, Queen Anne's Battery, etc., Plymouth* T. Allom
No.19 *Clovelly, North Devon* T. Allom
No.20 *Bideford Bridge and Town, North Devon* T. Allom

However issue 15 has the following four engravings:

1. *Frithelstoke Priory, Devonshire* (the interrupted text appears in issue no.17, p.72)
2. *Great Torrington Church, Devonshire* (plate dated 1830) (the interrupted text is spread over issue no.17, p.72 and issue no.18, p.73)
3. *Follaton House, Devonshire* (the interrupted text appears in issue no.17, pp.70-71)

²⁵⁵ It is rare that these 'Parts' have survived, usually they have been bound or broken up. See my illustrations of part-works from *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* and a Specimen example of *Lancashire Illustrated* as well as a part-work from Joseph Swan's *Lakes of Scotland*.

4. *Dartington House, Devonshire* (plate dated 1830) (the interrupted text for Dartington House appears in issue no.17, p.71)

The engraver of the first pair is M. J. Starling [fig. 43] and the second pair is W. Le Petit [fig. 44]. All after Allom. In Holloway (which follows the final printed book sequence of illustrations) Frithelstoke is no. 59, Great Torrington no. 60, Follaton no. 37 and Dartington no. 38.

The interrupted text has the following headings:

1. The Valley of Rocks, near Lynton
2. Ilfracombe Town and Harbour
3. Luscombe, near Dawlish
4. Mamhead Hall, near Dawlish (the text is interrupted with the phrase ‘a great quantity of cork, wainscot, oak,’).

In the bound volume of *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* the steel engravings have the following numbers in Holloway:

The Valley of the Rocks near Linton (sic) no. 61
Ilfracombe Town and Harbour no. 62
Luscombe, near Dawlish no. 73
Mamhead Hall, near Exeter no. 74

Issues 17, 18 and 21 have plates dated 1831 with two views in Devon and two in Cornwall.

The wrappers of each part-work contain a useful amount of information not found in the final bound book form. Firstly the price for each part containing ‘four highly finished engravings’ is one shilling with a few proofs on India paper price two shillings per number. The wrapper informs us that Fishers’ *Views in Devonshire and Cornwall* form part of the general series of Fishers’ *Grand National Improvements and Jones’ Great Britain Illustrated*. Britton talks of *Fisher’s Picturesque Illustrations of Great Britain and Ireland* and in particular *Views in Devonshire and Cornwall* (1832) where he comments:

Messrs Fisher and Jackson, publishers of the above work, were among the earliest competition of Mr. Jones in the production of topographical views and descriptions, at moderate prices; and their ‘Picturesque Illustrations’, which commenced with those of Devonshire and Cornwall, above mentioned, were continued for several years with much popularity and profit: embracing in their progress nearly all the Midland and Northern Counties of England. Mr. Brayley wrote Devonshire and Mr. Britton that on Cornwall.²⁵⁶

At the foot of the front page of the wrapper are the addresses of the Publishers and the booksellers:

²⁵⁶ T.E. Jones, *Descriptive Account of the Literary Works of John Britton* (London, 1849), vol. II p.98.

H. Fisher, Son & Co. 38, Newgate Street; Jones & Co. Finsbury Square; J. Gibson, 8, Ladywell Place, Plymouth;²⁵⁷ and all Booksellers.

The reverse of the wrapper is entirely given over to promoting other Fisher publications:

No.14: *Views in the East comprising India, Canton, and the Shores of the Red Sea: drawn by S. Prout; C. Stanfield; T. Boys; G. Cattermole; J. S. Cotman; D. Cox; F. Finch; W. Purser &c., &c.. From original sketches by Capt. Robert Elliot, Commander R. N.*

The parts are offered in different sizes from five shillings, ten shillings and fifteen shillings a part. Critical notices are appended from August and September 1830 from the *Literary Gazette*, *Athenaeum*, *Intelligence*, *Examiner*, *The News*, *Sunday Times*, *North Briton* and the *Court Journal*. More information on this publication appears on the back of part 15:

the work will be published in successive monthly parts each containing Three Plates engraved in the line manner by Edward Goodall, Robert Wallis, William Miller, Robert Brandard, William Cooke, J. du Boys, William Woolnoth, P. Heath, G. Hamilton and W. Le Petit .

Whittaker, Treacher & Arnot, Ave Maria Lane, London are listed as the printers. Another advertisement pasted into the back cover of W. Ellis's *Polynesian Researches*, volume II (Fisher, 1832) states:

It ranges in size with Lieut-Colonel Batty's *Cities*; and *European Scenery*; Brockedon's *Alps*; Turner's *England* &c, &c and forms a Series of appropriate Illustrations to Bishop Heber's *Letters and Journals*; the *Lives* of Bishop Heber, and Sir Thomas Munro; and Malcolm's, Colonel Welsh's, and other works relating to India.... About Fifteen Parts will complete the work forming one most interesting and handsome volume of Indian Scenery.

No.15: the back cover mentions that the part works were published monthly by Fisher but sold by C. Tilt of Fleet Street [fig. 45]. Charles Tilt (1797-1861) had briefly worked at Longman & Co. in 1818-19 and for the booksellers Hatchards until 1826. In October 1826 he began a lucrative publishing and bookselling business at 86 Fleet Street, at the corner of St Bride's Passage [fig. 46]. He remained in sole charge until 1840 when he took David Bogue (1807/08-1856) as a junior partner. The firm was known as Tilt and Bogue and then D. Bogue. Tilt's speciality was illustrated books and he cleverly used the side windows of his shop to draw passing crowds. By the 1830s he was wealthy (at his death he left £180,000) partly because he had cornered the early lithography market. He also profited from copyright lapses and reprinted works by famous artists by re-engraving them on steel-plates.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ John Gibson, bookseller, bookbinder and publisher had been an agent for Fisher in Plymouth as early as 1819, trading from Frankfort Street see Ch. 3.20 Fisher's distribution network.

²⁵⁸ See Logan Delano Browning, *Charles Tilt (1797-1861)* in *ODNB* (2004) www.oxforddnb.com/article/47455, accessed 1 Feb. 2006. Also see B. Hunnisett, *Steel-engraved book illustration in England*, op. cit, pp. 167-169 for Tilt, Bogue and Bohn.

Among works advertised on the back of issue 15 are *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated*, *Lancashire Illustrated*, *Ireland Illustrated* all of which were published in 1831.²⁵⁹

The back of part 17 advertises as 'Just Published Part V of *Views in the East*'. There are two reviews of *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated*:

We are satisfied, that had such a masterly publication as this appeared ten years ago, it would have been eagerly purchased at four times the present price (*Plymouth Journal*).

Of course in 1821 steel- engraving in topographical books was not available.

The review by the *Literary Gazette* (December, 1830) states:

When we look at the exceedingly pleasing prints which adorn this livraison, we are astonished that the publication can be sold at so cheap a rate.

Amongst a four page promotional booklet pasted into the front inside cover of W. Ellis's *Polynesian Researches* (Fisher, 1831) there is an advertisement for part number XXII of *The National Portrait Gallery* of illustrious and eminent personages, particularly of the nineteenth century, edited by W. Jerdan. The advertising puff continues:

A Part is published on the first of each month, containing three Portraits, mostly selected from the finest original Paintings, in the possession of His Majesty, the Nobility, Gentry, and Public Bodies; engraved on steel, in the highest style, and accompanied by their corresponding memoirs. - Imperial octavo, 3s. per part; ditto proofs on India paper, 5s; royal quarto, the King's edition, limited in number, 7s. 6d. N.B. Persons wishing to possess the Work can commence with Part I, and have one or more Parts per month, as agreeable; and the Proprietors beg to assure the Public, that though the sale of the work has been unprecedentedly great, they may rely upon receiving *perfect* impressions, the Plates being engraved on steel.

Here one can see a side of Fisher's print publishing business that really hadn't changed since the late eighteenth century and John Boydell's *Shakespeare Gallery* series.²⁶⁰ The *Literary Gazette* throughout the 1830s carried adverts for Fisher's *National Portrait Gallery*.

A final observation in the confection of these part works is that the stitching holding it together is a very simple blue thread catching the plates and letterpress in three holes beginning approximately three inches from the top of the plate and four and a half inches from the lower edge. The dimensions of the part-work is eleven and a quarter inches by eight and a half. The bound volumes would only be fractionally bigger by one eighth of an inch.²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ W.H. Pyne, D. Wylie and others, *Lancashire Illustrated*, from original drawings by S. Austin, J. Harwood, and G. & C. Pyne (London, 1831); and G. N. Wright, *Ireland Illustrated* from original drawings by G. Petrie, W. H. Bartlett and T. M. Baynes (London, 1831).

²⁶⁰ see Vivienne Painting, *John Boydell* (London, 2005) and her unpublished PhD dissertation *The commercial Maecenas: a study of the life and principal business concerns of John Boydell*, University of Keele, 1996.

²⁶¹ Hunnisett, *Engraved on Steel* (Aldershot, 1998) includes a diagram of the method of sewing (p.139 plate 58) and points out that the bound plates would be perforated in six places in the final sewing.

Views Abroad sold as part-works.

It is significant that many of Fisher's works in the boom years of part publication and the annuals (1829-45) are concerned with views abroad. Fisher's success may be put down to the fact that he did not restrict his choice of subject matter merely to fashion and beauty but regularly used images of views both at home and abroad. Alaric Watts has a most telling comment on this:

Few persons of the middle classes in those days dreamt of going abroad, or, indeed of leaving home at all, unless to visit friends; and their knowledge of, and interest in, the beautiful spots of the world were wholly derived from these engravings in the *Annuals*. In 1830 it occurred to Mr. Jennings, the printseller in the Poultry, that an annual, the embellishments whereof should be composed entirely of such views, would be likely to be popular; and the *Landscape Annual*, edited by Thomas Roscoe, son of the distinguished author of *The Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, was the result.²⁶²

G. N. Wright's *France Illustrated* (Fisher, 1844) came out in 24 monthly parts. An insertion in the December 1845 part stated that there were only 3 plates as 'The Publishers regret that disappointment on the part of one of the engravers, obliges them to issue the part with only 3 plates. Mr. Allom having, however, returned last week from France, with abundance of sketches, this, and the plates already wanting, will be presented at an early period'.²⁶³ The preface states that 'No methodical arrangement has been followed, in the selection of the subjects, or order of publication, the artist's taste being the author's guide'. When completed *France Illustrated* comprised of 96 plates after Allom. Often it was bound in three quarto volumes consisting of 32 plates.²⁶⁴ Fisher's *Syria and the Holy Land Illustrated* (1836-38) was also issued in three quarto volumes 'handsomely bound, price £3.10s'. At the end of each volume it states end of the first, second or third series.

Publications could also be grouped into 'Divisions'. Usually, 12 plates per division, costing 9 shillings per division. In 1838 Fisher advertised *The Turkish Empire Illustrated* - 'published this day either one volume each 4 months for 9s.6d, or in monthly parts, price 2s. each. Division the First - *Constantinople and its Environs*'. The publisher notes that 'The Proprietors designedly leave the edges of the Divisions uncut, in order that the book may not be injured by the margins being a second time reduced when it is bound into volumes'. Fisher's *Historic Illustrations of the Bible* (1840) was published in monthly parts but could

²⁶² Alaric Alfred Watts, *Alaric Watts - A narrative of his life*, Richard Bentley & Son (London, 1884) pp.156-7. The author of the *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici* was William Roscoe (1753-1831), one of the most popular historical biographers of his generation. See John Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance*, introduction by Edward Chaney (Oxford, 2005) particularly the section on *The Medici and William Roscoe: Late Eighteenth to Early Nineteenth Centuries*, (pp. 60-78).

²⁶³ See Brooks, *Thomas Allom* op. cit. p.44.

²⁶⁴ A supplemental fourth volume was issued with illustrations by Eugene Lami.

also be acquired in Divisions each containing 12 Plates and costing 9s. The *Art-Union* commented:

This is a cheap work; designed for the multitude; but of a character calculated to improve and not impair the taste of the mass... we recommend it to that extensive patronage which can alone repay the cost of its production.²⁶⁵

Even as late as the 1850s to 1870s the London Printing and Publishing Company were re-issuing plates at 7s.6d a Division from the original stock of Fisher, Son & Co.²⁶⁶

2.18 The Serial Publications of George Virtue.

Fisher's rival, the publisher George Virtue (1793-1868), was also a great specialist in serial publication. The front cover of Part 6 of *Scotland Illustrated* (dated 1835) usefully lists Virtue's Agents:

F. Virtue, Bristol
Ainsworth & Sons, Manchester, Birmingham and Liverpool
J. Taylor, Newcastle
H. Howe, 9 Thistle Street, Edinburgh
J. Day, 52 King Street South, Dublin
S. Ward, 36 Duncan Street, Cork

One of Virtue's earliest serial publications was Thomas Wright's *History and Topography of Essex* (1831-35) was issued in 48 monthly parts.²⁶⁷ William Beattie's *Switzerland Illustrated* was issued in parts between 1833 and 1836. Part One of *Scotland Illustrated or Caledonia Illustrata* has the date 2 March 1835 on the title page with a vignette of *Pass of the Trosachs Loch Katrine* (T. Allom, engraved by Robert Wallis) [fig. 47]. The inside cover promises that each part, price 2 shillings 'contains four highly finished Engravings by Mr R. Wallis'. The back wrapper states that each number will have between 12 and 16 pages of letter-press (interrupted) by Dr Beattie and 'will appear on the first of every month, uniform with *Switzerland*, and at the same unprecedently moderate price of *Two Shillings*'. The back cover of part 2 of *Scotland Illustrated* had a full page advert for *Switzerland Illustrated* and is noteworthy as the vignette of *Gondo* is a woodcut not a steel engraving [fig. 48].

²⁶⁵ *Art-Union*, No 21, 15 October 1840, p. 165.

²⁶⁶ For example Thomas Wright, *The History of France* (1858-62) re-used plates after Allom which had been first published in G. N. Wright's *France Illustrated* (Fisher, 1840). Some plates were re-cut or altered to introduce new elements such as the Crimean War and the regime change from Louis Philippe to Napoleon III.

²⁶⁷ The *ODNB/30063* (2004) states that Thomas Wright (1810-77) had written this work whilst an undergraduate at Trinity College, Cambridge.

N. P. Willis's *American Scenery* came out in 30 monthly parts, each had 4 plates and cost 2s.6d a part and was printed serially between 1837-40.²⁶⁸ N.P. Willis's *Canadian Scenery* (1840-42), came out either in 6 quarterly parts (10 ½ x 8 ¼ inches, 270 x 208 mm): part 1, title on front cover reads: '21 splendid views. First quarterly part. Price 11 shillings',²⁶⁹ or as an advertisement in Fredericton's *Royal Gazette* on October 21 1840 states:

New Illustrated Publications published under the Patronage of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen - *Canadian Scenery* Illustrated from original drawings by W.H. Bartlett... A part will be published regularly every month: each part will contain 4 exquisite Engravings from original drawings, 8 or 12 pages of historical and descriptive text, price 3s. 9d each part.

The advertiser was W. Dunbar who had been appointed agent in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia for the publisher George Virtue. He also took subscribers' names and arranged delivery. The parts were sent over from London on the *Edwin* and *Thetis* boats.²⁷⁰

Just like Fisher, Son & Co., Virtue brought out publications in divisions such as J. Stirling Coyne's²⁷¹ *The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland* (1842) which could be purchased in five divisions with 24 plates each at a cost of 7s.6d per division or 30 parts at 2s. each. The two volume edition with all 120 plates after W. H. Bartlett was offered at 3 guineas. Once Virtue had established an office in New York in 1835, part numbers, beginning with *Scotland Illustrated* were sold in American currency (see Chapter 4.7).

An advertisement in the *Waldenses Illustrated* promotes *The History and Topography of Holland and Belgium*, by Professor N.G. van Kampen, translated by W.G. Fearnside published by George Virtue in 1837. This publication was also available in a French version, *La Hollande et La Belgique* translated by J. De Cases. The French version was available in monthly parts at eighty centimes a part, each part contained three steel engravings, and would be completed in 17 livraisons. *The Danube: its History, Scenery and Topography* published by Virtue in 1844 was also translated into French by H-L Sazerac (dates in the text suggest a post ante quem publication of 1849 for the French translation) and was available in 32 parts, containing two engravings and between four and eight pages of text, with each part costing 1 fr. 25c.

²⁶⁸ Chamber's *Edinburgh Journal*, March 30, 1839 mentions that Virtue's *American Scenery* was being published and that 20 parts had so far appeared.

²⁶⁹ Source Sandra Alston (edited), *A Bibliography of Canadiana* (Toronto, 1985), Second Supplement, volume 2, 1801-49, ref. no. 7673, pp. 360-361.

²⁷⁰ The source for this was rather unusual, Elizabeth Collard, *Nineteenth century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada* (Montreal, 1967) pp. 209-210. Collard in a section on 'Bartlett for the Table' explains that enterprising British potters, capitalizing on Bartlett's fame, produced tablewares decorated with a number of his Canadian scenes.

²⁷¹ For J. Stirling Coyne see *ODBN/6544*. Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom* (1998), p.113 note 192 mentions that Stirling Coyne was an old friend of Allom and that the latter's son, Arthur, was living with the Coyne family c.1850 at Craven Street near the Strand.

Concluding Pointer.

The *Annuals* and part-works were a highly successful innovation, which enabled publishing firms to increase their profits without huge risk. Developments such as stereotyping and steel engraving coupled with serial publication and reprints laid the foundation of Fisher's commercial success whose early beginnings are investigated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

A COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE: FISHER, SON & CO AND THE ECONOMICS OF PRINT PRODUCTION.

3.1 Number Publishing and the origins of H. Fisher, Son and Co.

Charles Henry Timperley in his *Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (1839) wrote:

The monthly issue of periodical literature from London is unequalled by any similar commercial operation in Europe. Two hundred and thirty six monthly periodical works are sent out on the last day of each month to every corner of the United Kingdom from Paternoster Row.²⁷²

In his autobiography (1850) John Britton claims that he visited Paternoster Row on the last day of every month for forty years. Reminiscing on his youth he wrote:

At that time most of the tradesmen attended in their respective shops and dwelt in the upper part of their houses; now, the heads of many of the large establishments visit their counting-houses only for a few hours in the day, and leave the working part to junior partners, clerks and apprentices. Vast and numerous changes have taken place in the publishing and bookselling business since I first haunted book-stalls; and many and important improvements have been introduced into all the essentials of book-making. Paper, type, ink, compositionship, and presswork, have advanced from almost the lowest to nearly the highest degree of perfection. The number and qualification of authors have progressed in nearly an equal ratio.²⁷³

James Raven in his recently published comprehensive survey of the English book trade (2007) mentions Paternoster Row over fifty times.²⁷⁴ Of particular interest is his use of land tax records to map the London book trade by finding the location of printers, booksellers, and allied businesses to deepen as he says 'our understanding of the commercial and cultural orientation of the book trades from the early eighteenth century'.²⁷⁵ Paternoster Row is located just north of St Paul's Cathedral and was at the very centre of the publishing, printing and bookselling trades [fig.215]cxcs. Todd's Directory lists 40 printers in Paternoster Row²⁷⁶ and Raven says that by the 1770s the Row had become the:

premier publishing district of the country and home to the majority of leading English booksellers... about sixty or so bookmen and women ... established the Row as the centre of the wholesaling of books and magazine and periodical publishing.²⁷⁷

Timperley, writing at the end of the 1830s, calculated that Paternoster Row was producing 500,000 periodical copies a month and distributing 2,000 parcels to a purchase price value of

²⁷² Charles Henry Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (London, 1839), p. 952.

²⁷³ John Britton, *Autobiography* (London, 1850), pp. 198-99.

²⁷⁴ James Raven, *The Business of Books: booksellers and the English book trade 1450-1850* (Newhaven and London, 2007).

²⁷⁵ James Raven, op. cit. chapter 6, p. 155. There is a map of the Row in the 18th century on p. 173. An ongoing project called *The London Book Trades Project* www.members.lycos.co.uk/bookhistory run by James Raven and Nigel Hall has a draft map of the Paternoster Row area in 1790.

²⁷⁶ William B. Todd, (compiled) *A Directory of Printers and others in allied trades. London and vicinity 1800-1840* (London, 1972), op. cit. p. 234.

²⁷⁷ James Raven, op. cit. p. 169.

£25,000 per month.²⁷⁸ These figures were repeated, but without attributing them to Timperley, in an anonymous article in *Chambers Edinburgh Journal* in 1845 entitled 'Bookselling in Great Britain'. The article made something of a local hero out of Henry Fisher:

At the end of the last century a new era dawned on the career of the book-trade. A shrewd, intelligent but humble journeyman printer saw that the publishers of his day, by the price at which they kept their works, exclusively addressed a single class instead of the whole public. He could not, it is true - from the expense of materials - devise any plan to reduce the cost of books; but he invented a mode of issue by which they were rendered accessible to the humbler classes. As this was the earliest attempt at popular bookselling, we shall dwell a little upon it, and upon its originator. Henry Fisher... while yet a journeyman in the employment of Mr Jonas Nuttall, the founder of the Caxton Press in Liverpool, conceived the happy notion, that if expensive works were supplied to poorer customers in cheap parts, and periodically till complete, a vast number of persons would be eager purchasers, who regarded books as an unattainable luxury.²⁷⁹

It is a gross exaggeration and simply incorrect of *Chambers Edinburgh Journal* to imply that Henry Fisher invented part-publishing or the numbers game. As was seen in Chapter One illustrated serial publication had developed during the eighteenth-century and titles such as Francis Grose's *The Antiquities of England and Wales* came out in parts between 1772-76 priced at two shillings a part which included four engraved plates. What Fisher did was develop new techniques of marketing and selling these part works which he first applied in Liverpool and then had the idea of extending it nationwide to large urban centres such as Birmingham, Leeds, Plymouth, Bristol, Glasgow, Dublin and Belfast. The *Chambers Edinburgh Journal* continues by saying that Fisher proposed a new plan of selling by establishing depots in every principal town. Each depot had a team of hawkers who went from door to door, leaving prospectuses and offering the numbers for sale. At first the majority of part-works on offer were devotional works such as Illustrated Family Bibles. The Bibles were issued in 40 parts at one shilling per part. The hawker would offer the first part as a 'temptation' and would leave it with the household for a week before returning to hopefully close the deal. This may explain a comment in a letter by Robert Fisher to George Petrie:

By the by I have forgotten to say the 1st and 2nd Numbers must be charged as one only, that being one of the peculiarities of our business, - to give them as one.²⁸⁰

The *Chambers Edinburgh Journal* states that the Fisher method was adopted by others and that several respected publishers in London, Edinburgh and Glasgow date their origins from their founders commencing as canvassers in the employ of Nuttall and Fisher. However, despite the grandiose claims of the *Chambers'* article, the book-trade was not transformed by

²⁷⁸ Timperley, op. cit. p. 952. Published in 1839.

²⁷⁹ Bookselling in Great Britain from *Chambers Edinburgh Journal*, vol.III, January-June 1845, p.205. This article was republished in the same year in various American Magazines including *The Living Age*, (eds.Elijah Littell and Robert S. Littell) vol V, pp. 472-473 (Boston, April, May, June 1845).

²⁸⁰ Fisher to Petrie 3. NLI, MS. 791 No. 192, September 18, 1828.

Fisher's methods, although it may have been expanded and not everyone sold part-works and regular trade in books was not damaged by these innovations.

Henry Curwen in *A History of Booksellers, the Old and the New* (1873) writes:

The 'Number Publishers' may be looked upon as the modern pioneers of literature; their books are circulated by a peculiar method, among a peculiar public, almost entirely through the agency of their own canvassers, without the intervention of any other bookseller, and the works thus sold are scarcely known to the ordinary members of the publishing world. As the business is conducted by house to house visitation, a substratum of the public is reached which is entirely out of the stretch of the regular bookselling arm, though, when once a taste for reading has been developed, the regular bookseller cannot fail to benefit, as he will from every onward step in education and progress. The *Canvassing Trade* is conducted by only a few houses in London, Edinburgh and Glasgow.²⁸¹

The market for numbers existed side by side with the regular book-trade. Did the book-trade at first see a threat to their monopolies? Curwen hedges his bets by saying it is a peculiar method and virtually invisible but if it isn't negligible then it is beneficial, as this new substratum of the public would get a taste for reading and buy books which would benefit the booksellers and at the same time benefit this substratum by giving them an education. It was all in the interests of progress. However, the question must be asked did these new customers for part-works necessarily buy other books? Charles Babbage thought so when writing about over-manufacturing in his *Economy of Machinery and Manufactures*:

When too large a supply has produced a great reduction in price, it opens the consumption of the article to a new class, and increases the consumption of those who previously employed it. The manufacturer's ingenuity increases, improved machinery to produce it at a cheaper rate; or try to introduce new arrangements into his factory, which shall render the economy of it more perfect...²⁸²

Babbage, the pioneer of computing, (1832) writes about the rapid improvements in the printing trade over the last twenty years and cites particularly the introduction of steam presses, the thousands of copies obtained by engravings on steel, printing from moveable type, stereotyping, engraving by pressure thanks to Mr Perkins' hardened steel rollers, lithographic printing in unlimited numbers, and calico printing from cylinders allowing 28 yards of cloth to be printed in 4-5 minutes as well as transfer printing on china.²⁸³

Chambers Edinburgh Journal (1845) agrees that the introduction of steam-printing c. 1825 woke up the publishing world. The article mentions that the publisher Archibald Constable went bankrupt in his efforts to modernise and increase production. Other publishers, including John Murray with his *Family Library*, Longman & Co. with *The Cabinet Cyclopaedia*,

²⁸¹ Henry Curwen, *A History of Booksellers, the Old and the New* (London, 1873), p. 363.

²⁸² Charles Babbage, *The Economy of Machinery and Manufactures* (London, 1832), chapter 24.

²⁸³ Charles Babbage, op. cit, chapter 11, 'Of Copying', sections 78, 85, 93, 94, 99, 100 and 124.

Colburn & Bentley with their *National Library*, introduced cheaper publications. These attempts were not very successful. However a series of cheap monthly volumes costing 5 or 6 shillings now became a staple part of mainstream publishers catalogues. One can add that Fisher's *Select Library* series at 6 shillings (begun c. 1831) fits into this category (see Chapter Five, under *Polynesian Researches*, number 3). The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge introduced a sixpenny publication and in 1832 *Chambers Edinburgh Journal* was established followed shortly afterwards by the *Penny Magazine*.²⁸⁴ The article concludes that for the big publishers trouble (read competition) had multiplied, profits had diminished but the trade itself had extended so much that by 1845 there were 13,355 Booksellers, Publishers and Bookbinders in Great Britain of whom 5,499 were in London, 2547 in Scotland of which 786 were in Edinburgh.

Certainly it was in the mid 1830s that book publishing greatly expanded. Robert Alexander Peddie, in his *English Catalogue of Books* significantly makes his dividing line in 1835 as 25,000 book titles were published between 1800-35 and 64,000 book titles published between 1835-62.²⁸⁵ Editions of popular books increased dramatically from 1000 or 1500 copies to 10,000. When an edition of a book proved popular, the publishers reduced the prices and brought out smaller edition sizes such as duodecimo and sexto-decimo (12mo and 16mo). The novels of Sir Walter Scott provide a good example.

Leisure, as John Feather wrote, became for the first time a 'commercial commodity'.²⁸⁶ However, as William St Clair has pointed out, one has to distinguish between the 'parade of authors' (what today are considered the great Romantic authors) and what actually sold at the time (the relatively small number of Wordsworth editions sold compared to Sir Walter Scott).²⁸⁷ As noted in the preceding chapter, John Britton wrote that this was a 'new era' in which 16,000 to 20,000 copies of part-works were sold every month for a cover price of one shilling. The *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, volume VI, 1830-1914 (Cambridge, 2009) places the dividing line arbitrarily in 1830 (more accurately it is the series which places the dividing line between the two volumes: V and VI, at 1830), however McKitterick argues that:

²⁸⁴ *Chambers Edinburgh Journal*, Vol.III, January-June 1845, p. 205ff.

²⁸⁵ Robert Alexander Peddie, *The English Catalogue of Books*, 7 vols. (London, 1836-1901) as quoted in James Raven op.cit. p.324.

²⁸⁶ See John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London, 1988), pp. 93- 94 and James Raven op. cit. p. 324.

²⁸⁷ Peter France and William St Clair, eds. *Mapping Lives. The Uses of Biography*. (Oxford, 2002), Chapter 12, William St Clair, *The Biographer as Archaeologist*, p. 219.

the events of the mid-1820s were a reminder of the risks of working on credit in a tightly interdependent industry, and of the endemic shortage of capital in the book trade as a whole... much of the success of the expansion of the British book trade in the following decades was the result of spreading risks, and extending the sources of profit.²⁸⁸

Part-works and new technology played a key role in this success and the contribution of Henry Fisher in establishing the 'largest periodical warehouse in the United Kingdom' (see 3.19) is most pertinent. In marketing terms Fisher developed a new market by, as C. K. Prahalad wrote, 'converting the poor into consumers' and 'creating the capacity to consume' of those at the 'bottom of the pyramid'.²⁸⁹ However, his publishing success did not begin in London but in Liverpool. It was only later, owing to a serious warehouse fire in Liverpool in 1821, that Fisher came to London. Far too often in book-trade/ book history the emphasis is on London and what London did affected the rest of the country. However, in recent years there has been growing interest in regional publishing with pioneering work by academics such as Dr John Hinks on local and regional studies of printing history, and Peter Isaac and Barry McKay's research on the history of the provincial book trade.²⁹⁰ So it is significant to find that Fisher began one of the most successful publishing ventures of the early nineteenth century outside London and ended his career in Paternoster Row.

Not everyone was delighted with Paternoster Row, and Charles Babbage, writing in 1832, complained about the publishers' profits and the 'combination' or booksellers' agreement that prevented any bookseller from selling books for less than 10% under the published prices. He cited the testimony of Mr. O. Rees, bookseller, of Longmans at 39 Paternoster Row, before a House of Commons Committee about copyright in 1818 and included among the booksellers monopoly the firms of Longmans, Rivingtons, Hatchards and Murray. The profits were divided between the bookseller and the publisher. Babbage was so incensed that he included a calculation about his own book's costs: the reader pays 6 shillings a volume; the author gets 3s.10d. and pays for the costs of publication but 44% profit goes to the publisher/bookseller. Babbage's own publisher objected and subsequent editions were published by Charles Knight,

²⁸⁸ David McKitterick, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. VI, 1830-1914 (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 4-5.

²⁸⁹ C. K. Prahalad, *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid* (New Jersey, 2009), p.12.

²⁹⁰ Dr John Hinks' PhD was on the history of the book trade in Leicester, his current research is on Book trade communities in English provincial towns: 1695-1850, see Maureen Bell and John Hinks, 'The English Provincial Book Trade: Evidence from the British Book Trade Index' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol V, ed. M Suarez and M Turner (Cambridge, 2009). See *Quadrat* - a periodical bulletin of research in progress on the history of the British book trade with contributions from both Peter Isaac and Barry McKay and particularly *Images and Texts, their production and distribution in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (eds.P. Isaac and B. McKay) (Winchester, 1997).

a forward looking entrepreneur who shared Babbage's enthusiasm for the new technologies.²⁹¹ Babbage also noted the link between book publishing and magazine advertising:

Some of the periodical publications of the day ought to be regarded merely as advertising machines²⁹²

Indeed the *Quarterly Review* was published by John Murray, the *Edinburgh Review* was owned by Constable, and the *London Literary Gazette* was part owned by Longman.²⁹³

H. Fisher, Son and Co. was located just behind Paternoster Row at 38, Newgate Street and was one of the major publishing firms of the early nineteenth century in London of topographical works with steel engravings.²⁹⁴ An advertisement in the *Literary Gazette* for January 1823 under the title *Royal Caxton Press*, mentions works published by Henry Fisher, 'printer in ordinary to His Majesty' and offers precise instructions to find 38 Newgate Street 'through the Queen's Head Passage from Paternoster Row'.²⁹⁵ Timperley confirms that the publishing business was carried on at Newgate Street and that the printing establishment was fixed in Owen's Row, Clerkenwell.²⁹⁶ Yet one looks in vain to find any information about them. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* has no entry for either Henry Fisher (1781-1837) or for his son Robert Fisher. Curwen makes no mention of Henry Fisher except in connection with him helping out Timperley when he got into financial difficulties.²⁹⁷ Most early information is derived from Charles Henry Timperley's mention of Henry Fisher, two years after the latter's death in 1839.²⁹⁸ John Britton mentions him briefly in his autobiography, 'Mr Fisher of the Caxton Press, the celebrated printer and publisher... and my friend'.²⁹⁹ Useful cross-references to this information can now be found online.³⁰⁰

3.2 George Virtue and Thomas Kelly.

If Fisher, Son and Co. is much neglected then their rival and fellow publisher George Virtue (1794-1868) and his son James Sprent Virtue (1829-1892), whose publishing house was located nearby at 26 Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row, get a better press. However, even the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* has given the career of James Sprent Virtue preference over

²⁹¹ Charles Babbage, *The Economy of Machinery and Manufactures* (London, 1832), chapter 24 section 400.

²⁹² Charles Babbage, op. cit. chapter 24, section 400.

²⁹³ Asa Briggs, *A History of Longmans and their books 1724-1990* (London, 2008), p. 181.

²⁹⁴ *Tallis's London Street Views 1838-40* (London, reprinted 1969) pp. 46-47, part 5 reproduces no. 38 Newgate Street and on p. 217 lists no.38 as the address for Fisher, Son and Jackson, Printers and Publishers.

²⁹⁵ *Literary Gazette*, Saturday 4 January 1823, no. 311, p. 15.

²⁹⁶ Timperley, op. cit, p. 948.

²⁹⁷ Henry Curwen, *A History of Booksellers*, op.cit. p. 463.

²⁹⁸ Charles Henry Timperley, op. cit. supra.

²⁹⁹ John Britton, *Autobiography* (London, 1850), p. 106.

³⁰⁰ *British Book Trade Index*, University of Birmingham, www.bbti.bham.ac.uk ; *English Short-Title Catalogue*, www.bl.uk; www.copac.ac.uk and the recently launched (1 October, 2008) Bodleian Library's SOLO (Search Oxford Libraries Online).

that of his father.³⁰¹ One of the reasons for recent interest in Virtue and Co is that one of the artists they employed, William Henry Bartlett (1809-1854), has been the subject of research in the United States and Canada, as seen in the literature review. Since 1997 there is an archive of material relating to the firm of Virtue in the Eugene C. Worman research material on William H. Bartlett (1835-1995) in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.³⁰² Worman's research followed on from the biography of Bartlett by the Canadian academic Alexander M. Ross in 1973.³⁰³ Ross left his Bartlett Collection to the McLaughlin Library, University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada.³⁰⁴

Virtue's first success was a part publication called *Tom and Jerry*. Part One was published on 15 July 1821 and is based on Pierce Egan's *Life in London; or the Adventures of Tom and Jerry*. It was issued in numbers by Sherwood, Neely and Jones of Paternoster Row. The illustrations were by Robert and George Cruikshank. The subject matter was inspired by works on country sports and pastimes and was intended to show the funny side of town life.³⁰⁵ The imprint for the 1830 edition of Pierce Egan's *Finish to the Adventures of Tom, Jerry, and Logic in their pursuits through Life in and out of London* lists George Virtue at 26 Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row and Bath Street, Bristol; and Great Ancoates Street, Manchester, which may give some hint as to his regional distribution offices. It was immediately imitated by Jones & Co, Temple of the Muses in a work called *Lackington's Confessions or The Confessions of J. Lackington in a series of letters to a friend. To which are added, two letters on the consequences of having two daughters educated at boarding schools*. Curwen says that 'All the World bought *Tom and Jerry*, and having roared over the plates, tossed them not unnaturally aside'. It was, he claimed, the *Pickwick* of its day and young Thackeray's early favourite.³⁰⁶ Virtue had started like John Cooke (c.1730-1810), Alexander Hogg (fl.1778-1824) and Thomas Kelly (1772-1855) with religious numbers.

Before proceeding with George Virtue, Thomas Kelly's career is worth investigating, as it was another success story and possibly inspired Virtue and Henry Fisher. A generation earlier, Kelly began working for Alexander Hogg, bookseller of 16 Paternoster Row. As a shopman

³⁰¹ see *ODNB*/28332 and 28331 (Oxford, 2004) by G. C. Boase revised J. P. Hopson.

³⁰² Full details are available at www.aaa.si.edu/collections/findingaids/wormeuge.htm.

³⁰³ Alexander M. Ross, *William Henry Bartlett, Artist, Author and Traveller* (Toronto, 1973).

³⁰⁴ see www.lib.uoguelph.ca/resources/archival/_special_collections.

³⁰⁵ Pierce Egan's *Finish to the Adventures of Tom and Jerry*, dated 1830, published by George Virtue, is illustrated in J.R. Abbey's *Life in England in Aquatint and Lithography 1770-1860* (London, 1953, reprinted 1972 and San Francisco, 1991) figure 35 Title page to No. 284, p.249.

³⁰⁶ Henry Curwen, *A History of Bookselling*, op. cit. p.374.

Kelly received four shillings a week.³⁰⁷ Hogg had been a journeyman to John Cooke and had been successful at publication by numbers.³⁰⁸ In around 1809 Kelly set up on his own in Paternoster Row. Kelly made money by buying remaindered or out of copyright books, splitting them up into numbers and selling them in paper wrappers. He relied on canvassers. A canvasser was given a stock on credit of between £20- £100 to sell.

Perhaps here one should look at the terminology behind the words 'canvasser' and 'hawker', although it is often difficult to distinguish between the various methods of selling cheap publications: chapmen networks selling cheap prints, publications or religious tracts, pedlars, packmen and hawkers, itinerant vendors (James Lackington began his bookselling career as this), canvassers soliciting people for orders, walking stationers in the countryside and in towns, and flying stationers, mostly women and boys selling publications in the streets. By 1824 Thomas Dibdin remarked that commercial travellers were all over the country and that those from Paternoster Row had doubled.³⁰⁹ This method of selling produced for the publisher ready money and a speedy return on capital. Sheila O'Connell mentions that 'Ballad partners' initiated a distribution network as early as 1624, which took cheap printed material to all parts of the country. In the cities and larger towns Bellmen and Lamplighters would distribute printed sheets as gifts at New Year, its origins were certainly ancient as Erasmus records them in 1506.³¹⁰

One of Kelly's first publications was Kelly's *Family Bible* edited by J. Mallam, Rector of Hilton. This Bible extended to 173 numbers. It cost £5.15s 4d for the whole work but was sold at 8d per copy in weekly or monthly 'driblets'. William St Clair points out that the total cost of £5.15s. 4d was twice the amount of what the published book would cost.³¹¹ 80,000 copies were sold and receipts amounted to £460,000. Of this amount half went to Agents' allowances for canvassing and delivery and £20,000 for paper duty.

After the Bible, Kelly published a *Life of Christ*, *Fox's Book of Martyrs* and a *History of England*, all in folio with copper-plate 'embellishments'. Other popular works such as Bunyan's *The Pilgrims' Progress* were published in small octavo sizes. Kelly eventually

³⁰⁷ Rev. R. C. Fell, *Life of Alderman Kelly* (London, 1856), p. 43.

³⁰⁸ For Hogg and Cooke see James Raven, *The Business of Books* op. cit, Hogg: pp.169,174, 178, 191, 198, 210, 221, 244, 248, 249-250, 274, 280, 282, 285 and 288; Cooke: 173-4, 186, 191, 218, 244, 248, 249, 252, 274, 276, 279, 280, 282, 285, 287, 318 and 361.

³⁰⁹ see William St Clair, op. cit. p. 37 and Bill Bell 'Pioneers of Literature: The commercial Traveller in the early 19th century' in *The Reach of Print, Making, Selling and Using Books*, edited by Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester and Delaware, 1998), p.121.

³¹⁰ Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England* (London, 1999), pp.18, 19, 24 and 27.

³¹¹ William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 206.

bought Hogg and Cooke's businesses and around 1814 he started printing books by stereotype plates. William St Clair suggests that stereotyping only came to London after the process had been introduced by firms outside London.³¹² If this is so then Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon were probably leaders in this field as will be seen in the following pages. Curwen comments that Kelly's Bible went through 12 editions and produced 250,000 copies and adds that one of Kelly's agents traded £4000-5000 of part-works per annum. Success in serial publication brought Kelly respectability firstly as Alderman and in 1836 as Lord Mayor.³¹³ This was a path which John Boydell had followed, which the print and bookseller Francis Graham Moon would attain in 1854 and which both Henry Fisher and George Virtue aspired to as they both served on the ward council of Farringdon within and in 1837, just before his death, Alderman Henry Fisher was nominated as Sheriff of London and Middlesex. A year earlier in 1836, according to Curwen, Thomas Tegg, was chosen as Sheriff but paid a £400 fine to escape serving.³¹⁴ Kelly was a typical low Church Christian City of London entrepreneur. In 1845 he was chairman of the newly created Abney Park cemetery which was used for burials of a mixture of dissenters, non denominational, London Missionary Society members.³¹⁵ The *Literary Gazette* rather disdainfully comments:

Well, the age when Number authorship was considered to be infra-dig must now surely be considered as having passed. Not when a principal publisher thereof, Alderman Kelly, reached the supreme city dignity of Lord Mayor...³¹⁶

By 1823 Virtue was based at 26 Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row.³¹⁷ Curwen says that Virtue came to London in 1820. As early as 1821 Virtue was using the printer Richard Clay. In 1830 Pierce Egan's *Tom and Jerry* was printed by C. Baynes, 13 Duke Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.³¹⁸ Virtue's success was due to cheap prices and later, like Fisher, he diversified from being a religious publisher and book-seller to producing huge quantities of 'View-Books' catering to 'British curiosity by bringing scenes of foreign lands to British living rooms'. By 1824 he was listed as a publisher in the *Beadles Book* at Stationers Hall.³¹⁹ But what about the early London career of Virtue's contemporary Henry Fisher?

³¹² William St Clair, op. cit. p. 182.

³¹³ Information on Kelly is taken from Henry Curwen, *A History of Booksellers*, op.cit. pp 363-369. Curwen's source for Kelly seems to have been Rev. R. C. Fell's *Life of Alderman Kelly* (London, 1856). Strangely James Raven's *The Business of Books* (2007), op. cit makes no mention of Kelly although Alexander Hogg is cited 15 times and John Cooke 17 times. Raven's previous book *Judging New Wealth - popular publishing and responses to commerce in England 1750-1800* (Oxford, 1992) also mentions Hogg, pp. 48-50, but not Kelly.

³¹⁴ Henry Curwen, *A History of Booksellers, the old and the new* (London, 1873 reprinted Thoemmes, 1996), p. 396.

³¹⁵ Dr Stephen Orchard, 'Christian Philanthropy in London 1830-50', Gresham College Lecture, 4 April 2005, www.gresham.ac.uk.

³¹⁶ *Literary Gazette*, Number 1150, 2 February 1839, p. 71.

³¹⁷ Philip A. H. Brown, *London Publishers and Printers c.1800-1870* (London, 1982) and Samuel Leigh's *New Picture of London* (London, 1819) where he lists 'publishers of works in numbers'.

³¹⁸ See J.R. Abbey, *Life in England*, op. cit. p.249 for illustration of title page with Virtue publishing details.

³¹⁹ Sources for George Virtue: *Art Journal*, obituary January 1869; Henry Curwen, *A History of Booksellers, the Old and the New* (London, 1873); ODNB; *London, Provincial and Colonial Press News*, February 1886, p.15; Basil Hunnisett, *Steel-engraved book illustration in England* (London, 1980).

3.3 Fisher's early London career and his first illustrated books with steel engravings.

The two earliest London publications by Fisher with topographical steel-engravings listed in Holloway are W. H. Pyne and D. Wylie and others' *Lancashire Illustrated* (1831)³²⁰ and G. N. Wright's *Ireland Illustrated, from original drawings, by George Petrie, W. H. Bartlett and T. M. Baynes* with the imprint London: H. Fisher, Son and Jackson, 38 Newgate Street.³²¹ Holloway dates *Ireland Illustrated* to 1831, as indeed the imprint suggests, but the work actually began in 1828 and was issued in parts.³²² The title page vignette of *Howth Light House, from the Needles*³²³ carries an earlier date but Petrie was rather slow in carrying out his task, so a second title page was inserted with the date of 1831, together with the names of other artists that Fisher was obliged to use to complete the work including the young W. H. Bartlett who was just finishing his apprenticeship as John Britton's fourth pupil (1822-29).³²⁴

At the same time as *Ireland Illustrated*, Fisher was engaged on *Lancashire Illustrated*.³²⁵ The engraved title to *Lancashire Illustrated* carries the date 1829, thus suggesting it was begun earlier than the publication date of 1831, a specimen number of *Lancashire Illustrated* bears the date 1830 and indicates that five parts are already published (each part contained four numbers). Fisher was also busy producing *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* and Diana Brooks states that this was the earliest steel engraved work with designs after Allom in it.³²⁶ Thus it would seem that the earliest steel-engraved publications for H. Fisher, Son and Jackson date from c.1828-30, which suggests that the firm of Fisher was a relative newcomer to London. Indeed there is no mention of Fisher in Maxted's *The London Book Trades 1775-1800*.³²⁷ However both Philip A. H. Brown in *London Publishers and Printers* and William

³²⁰ Holloway, *Bibliography* op.cit. p. 114 no. 103.

³²¹ Merlyn Holloway, *A Bibliography of Nineteenth Century British Topographical Books with Steel Engravings* (London, 1977), number 163, pp.183-85.

³²² My attention was drawn to a series of letters between Robert Fisher and George Petrie mentioned in the exhibition catalogue *George Petrie (1790-1866) - The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past* by Peter Murray, Curator, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, Cork (Cork, 2004).

The letters from Fisher to Petrie are in the National Library of Ireland (NLI) Ms. no. 790 nos 189-191 and Ms. 791 nos 192-199.

³²³ The preparatory sketch is in the National Gallery of Ireland, Petrie Portfolio, cat. no. 6708, *View of Howth Lighthouse from Needles*.

³²⁴ See Alexander M. Ross, *W. H. Bartlett* op. cit. p.13 : 'A little known work which contains early Bartlett engravings is *Ireland illustrated*, published by H. Fisher, Son and Jackson in 1831. Two other artists - G. Petrie, RHA, and T. M. Baynes - also contributed illustrations which appear two to a page and measure 4 x 6 inches. Bartlett's contribution consists of thirty three sketches. Five of the engravings are dated 1829, twenty four, 1830 and four, 1831, so that the original sketches were probably done during the last years of his apprenticeship when he may have travelled to Ireland on a commission from the publisher'.

³²⁵ Fisher mentions to Petrie that the Engraver for *Lancashire* is R. Wallis. Letter to Petrie 18 September 1828 (NLI Ms 791 no 192) and in another letter to him dated 24 October 1828 he again mentions 'our Lancashire work' (NLI Ms 791 no 196).

³²⁶ Diana Brooks, op. cit. *Thomas Allom* dates *Devonshire Illustrated* to 1829 (Appendix 1 p.87). This is possibly when the part work started to be published. Part issue number 14 has the date of 1830 on the two plates - *Torridge Canal*, and *Rolle Aqueduct near Torrington*, *Devonshire* and *Castle Hill, near South Molton, Devonshire* and critical notices on the wrapper are dated September 1830. Holloway, op. cit. *Bibliography* dates the publication of *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* to 1832 (ref no 42, p.52).

³²⁷ Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades 1775-1800 ; A preliminary checklist of members* (London, 1977).

B. Todd in *A Directory of Printers and Others in Allied Trades* do mention Henry Fisher operating in London ten years earlier from around 1819-21.³²⁸

3.4 Henry Fisher and Liverpool.

But Henry Fisher had begun his career elsewhere. Todd lists Henry Fisher as a Master Printer from Liverpool who, in 1821, ran the Caxton Press office in Liverpool. Imprints give the address as Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon of 19 Duke Street or plain Duke Street.³²⁹ However the British Book Trade Index, relying on the Liverpool Bibliographical Society researches, also list the following addresses: 7 Wolstenholme Square, 31 Netherfield Lane, 39 Union Terrace and 46 Renshaw Street.³³⁰ This was at the heart of literary Liverpool.³³¹ Presumably Fisher's office was separate from the Printing Works, which were housed in a former Cotton Mill built in c.1790 on land bounded by Skelthorne Street, Copperas Hill and Bolton Street and converted to the premises of the Caxton Press in 1812 and which were destroyed by fire on 7 February, 1821.³³² The Bodleian Library has a rare catalogue from Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon which contains an engraving on the front cover of the building: *West View of the Caxton Printing-Office*, dated c.1816.³³³ [fig. 49]

Todd lists Fisher's printing works, between 1821-4, at 15 Owen's Row, Clerkenwell and a publishing office at 38 Newgate Street, London. It seems that after the fire in Liverpool, Henry Fisher immediately set up business in London.³³⁴ In 1825 he took his son Robert as a partner as well as his London agent Peter Jackson and by 1827 the company was called H. Fisher, Son and Co. or sometimes H. Fisher, Son and Jackson.³³⁵ However, Brown gives an earlier address for Henry Fisher at 87 Bartholomew Close, just north of Newgate Street, between 1819-22.³³⁶ The Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon catalogue in the Bodleian (1816) also lists

³²⁸ Philip A. H. Brown, *London Publishers and Printers c. 1800-1870* (London, 1982) p.67 and William B. Todd (compiled), *A Directory of Printers and others in Allied Trades. London and Vicinity 1800-40* (London, 1972), p.69.

³²⁹ see *The Book of Martyrs or Christian Martyrology: containing an authentic and historical relation of many dreadful persecutions against the Church of Christ, from the death of Abel &c.* (no author credited but presumably a version of Fox's Book of Martyrs) the imprint states 19, Duke Street (Liverpool, 1810). A year later the Rev. John Fleetwood's *The Life of Our Blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ* is published by Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon, Duke Street (Liverpool, 1811).

³³⁰ It is worth mentioning that a future romantic poet and author Felicia Dorothea Browne Hemans (1793-1835) was born at 118 Duke Street and her father is listed as a wine importer at 9 Wolstenholme Square.

³³¹ Re. Felicia Dorothea Hemans, a search on SOLO revealed: *The Liverpool Homes of Mrs Hemans (a lecture)* by George Thomas Shaw (Liverpool, 1897 at the Bodleian Library (2705e.1517(2))).

³³² An archaeological desk-based assessment of this area was carried out in 2002 by the University of Manchester Archaeological Unit.

³³³ Bodleian Library, Oxford, G. pamph.2920. fol.89. The catalogue mentions 1816 for several items in the course of publication.

³³⁴ Charles Henry Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (London, 1839) p. 879 and pp. 947-49.

³³⁵ Todd, op.cit. cites as his source Charles Henry Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (London, 1839). There does not appear to be any logic to why Jackson's name appears or disappears from the publishing line.

³³⁶ The Printers J. and C. Adlard are listed in Bartholomew Close on the imprint of *England's Topographer, or a new and complete history of the county of Kent* by William Henry Ireland, vol. II gives the publisher as G. Virtue, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row, 1829, the plates are after designs by G. Shepherd, H. Gastineau etc but one plate of *Rochester Bridge*, dated July 1828, after George Shepherd was engraved by H. Adlard. Maybe Printer and Engraver are from the same family?

their warehouses as being the Caxton Buildings, Liverpool and 87 Bartholomew Close, London. This is confirmed in Samuel Leigh's *New Picture of London* (1819) where he lists Booksellers and Publishers.³³⁷ After listing the various branches of business such as wholesale and retail booksellers, booksellers who have circulating libraries, or reading rooms, and dealers of second hand books and specialist booksellers, he lastly lists 'Publishers of Works in Numbers'. Perhaps the order of listing indicates the low esteem publishers of numbers were held in or the relative novelty of this trade. There are five and they are worth listing:

Hogg, Mrs, Paternoster Row

Kelly, Paternoster Row

Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon, Bartholomew Close

Robins and Co., Ivy Lane

Tegg, Cheapside

3.5 Thomas Tegg (1776-1846).

The latter, Thomas Tegg, made a fortune out of reprints and remainders, surplus copies of books which the original publishers wanted to dispose of for one reason or another. In the early 1800s and up until about 1810 Tegg published Gothic bluebooks at the *Eccentric Book Warehouse*, 122 St John's Street, West Smithfield, under the imprint Tegg and Castleman as well as listing his main business as Thomas Tegg, Cheapside. In the 1826 crisis which caused the bankruptcy of Hurst Robinson, Tegg bought a quantity of Walter Scott's novels at 4d a volume from the Hurst Robinson sale (Francis Graham Moon also purchased stock from the Hurst Robinson sale). In 1834 Tegg bought 100,000 of Murray's *Family Library* at one shilling each and sold them for two shillings each. Curwen says that Tegg also made a fortune by re-issuing Adam Clarke's *Family Bible* - the work was stereotyped and reissued continuously.³³⁸ In *The Life and Labours of Dr Adam Clarke* it states that:

Dr Clarke's last literary employment was, revising his learned and voluminous *Commentary* for a new edition. In 1830, Mr Everett suggested this measure. Dr Clarke adopted the hint, and, through his friend, offered the copyright to Mr Tegg, for the sum of £2,000. No bargain, however, was concluded till after the Doctor's death, when Mr Tegg purchased it, together with the remaining stock of the first edition, for two thousand guineas. In the meantime, it had been offered to the Wesleyan-Methodist Book-Committee; but those gentlemen declined accepting it, although Dr Clarke's heirs were willing, however unwarrantably, to expunge certain portions deemed objectionable.³³⁹

³³⁷ Leigh's *New Picture of London*. Printed for Samuel Leigh, 18, Strand by W. Clowes, Northumberland Court (London, 1819).

³³⁸ Curwen, op. cit. mentions Tegg pp.391-397. For Tegg see ODNB (2004) and 'Reassessing the reputation of Thomas Tegg, London publisher 1776-1846' by James Barnes and Patience Barnes in *Book History*, vol.3 (2000), pp. 45-60.

³³⁹ *The Life and Labours of Dr Adam Clarke* (London, 1842) p. 381, no author given.

Dr Clarke died in 1832 so Tegg made his fortune after Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon's connection with Dr Clarke had ended (see 3.8 for Adam Clarke's involvement with Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon) .

Hunnisett, also relying on C. H. Timperley as his source, gives a potted biography of Henry Fisher and also reproduces an engraved portrait of Fisher [fig. 50] taken from Timperley's *Dictionary*.³⁴⁰ The portrait was painted by H. [sic] Mosses. This is possibly Alexander Mosses (1793-1837) a Liverpool-born painter who studied under the Liverpool marine artist John Jenkinson (whose 8 x 5 foot *View of the Town and Harbour of Liverpool* was owned by Henry Fisher, see 3.19). Mosses exhibited a portrait of *Two Buddhist Priests from Ceylon* at the Royal Academy in 1820. This was engraved by R. Hicks after A. Mosses (stipple 198 x 138mm) and published by Henry Fisher, Caxton, Liverpool in 1821 with the added information that Adam Sireh-goona and Munhi Rathama were educated in England by Rev. Adam Clarke. There are few illustrations in Timperley's *Dictionary*. Why would Timperley privilege Henry Fisher? A cynic might argue that Fisher was more recent history, he had just died and an engraving was readily available, or that Timperley had very good reasons for promoting Fisher perhaps to find favour with the publishing house who seem to have supported him through difficult times whereby he had lost money in a business venture.³⁴¹

3.6 Henry Fisher's early years.

Henry Fisher was born in 1781 at Preston, Lancashire, the son of Thomas Fisher, a timber merchant. Thomas Rose in *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* (London, 1832) informs us that Henry Fisher was descended from the Fisher family of Bowness in the Lake District.³⁴² At the age of 13 Henry was articled to a local printer and bookbinder called Mrs Sergeant. After four years he left and finished his apprenticeship with Hemingway and Nuttall, printers in Blackburn.³⁴³ Subsequently, Nuttall moved to Liverpool and Fisher went with him.³⁴⁴ Jonas Nuttall specialized in the 'Numbers Trade' and, according to Timperley, Fisher suggested the establishment of 'depots in the

³⁴⁰ Basil Hunnisett, *Steel-Engraved Book Illustration in England* (London, 1980), pp.170-71.

³⁴¹ Curwen, op. cit. p.463 notes that 'Timperley, heart-broken by misfortune, accepted a literary engagement with Fisher and Jackson of London, and in their service he died'. Fisher, Son & Co published Timperley's *Songs of the Press and other Poems* in 1845.

³⁴² Thomas Rose, *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* published H.Fisher, R.Fisher and P. Jackson (London, 1832), p.26.

³⁴³ The BBTI lists as its source : The Liverpool Bibliographical Society, *The Book Trade in Liverpool to 1805: a directory and the Book Trade in Liverpool 1806-1850*. Liverpool Book Trade in the North West Project occ. Pub 1 (1981) and occ. Pub. 2 (1987) abbreviated to BTNW1 and BTNW2.

³⁴⁴ There is not much information on Jonas Nuttall. Timperley, op. cit. p.947, mentions he was from Blackburn but served his apprenticeship with John Ferguson, a printer from Liverpool. Nuttall died in September 1837 'at his seat at Nutgrove, Prescott, Lancashire which he had erected'.

principal towns of the kingdom, for the more effectual extension of the sale of standard works in numbers' which helped to increase circulation and he spent three years managing a depot in Bristol whilst he developed a series of distribution depots across the country. Mention is made of this depot in *Holden's Directory* of 1811 which lists Nuttall (sic), Fisher and Dixon's periodical publication warehouse at 24 Philadelphia Street, Bristol.³⁴⁵ Jonas Nuttall is listed in *Holden's Directory* of 1811 for Liverpool as Printer, Duke Street.³⁴⁶

3.7 'Faith and Works'. Religious Publishing.

By 1805, aged 24, Henry Fisher was offered a partnership and a salary of £900 a year.³⁴⁷ The firm was now known as Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon and issued publications in monthly or quarterly parts including many religious works such as Illustrated Bibles.³⁴⁸ Bibles were big business for publishers as was seen with Kelly's career. Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon seemed to be specialists in part publication of illustrated Bibles, for example *The Christian's Complete Family Bible*, a large folio size (15 ½ x 9 ¾ inches, 395 x 248mm) published by Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon, 19 Duke Street, Liverpool in 1807 and illustrated with forty engravings ('reproductions from the masters and including some of Hogarth's designs'). David Daniell mentions that seventeen new Bible editions appeared in 1812.³⁴⁹ Timperley approves wholeheartedly of publishing part-works and says that 'by the novel and unique business of number publishing' many of the poorer classes of society were able to purchase various works by small periodical payments, 'a system that has proved of the highest intellectual and moral advantage' to them. Indeed Timperley's very own *Dictionary of Printers and Printing* came out in parts, 'to be completed in about twenty monthly parts'.³⁵⁰ In his various biographies within the *Dictionary* it is clear that Timperley has a high regard for self-made men like Fisher who improve the lot of their fellow men. Timperley himself is an interesting character. He was a veteran of Waterloo and had bettered himself before being cheated out of his money, at which point Fisher had rescued him and kept him in employment until his death.

³⁴⁵ The bombing of Bristol in World War Two largely destroyed this area and what the Luftwaffe did not destroy the post-war town planners did erecting the Broadmead Shopping Centre and the nearest location to where Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon's periodical warehouse was sited is now Harvey Nichols wine shop at 27 Philadelphia Street.

³⁴⁶ See Ian Maxted's *Exeter Working Papers in Book History, a Tabulation of national directories*, which also confirms Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon's periodical publication warehouse in Bristol.

³⁴⁷ Timperley adds he was made a partner 'without solicitation' and that 'independently of his share as a partner' he was allowed a salary of £900 per annum. Timperley admires his 'activity, integrity and ability' and earlier recounts that during his time with Mrs Sergeant he cut his meal times in order to be paid more which did not please Mrs Sergeant and led to his leaving her employ.

³⁴⁸ Between 1800 and 1899, Darlow, Moule and Herbert's catalogue recorded about 600 new editions of the Bible, or parts of it. See David Daniell, *The Bible in English, its history and influence* (New Haven & London, 2003) p.659 referring to Darlow, T.H. and Moule, H.F. rev. by A.S. Herbert, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the English Bible, 1525-1961* (London, 1968).

³⁴⁹ David Daniell, op.cit p.659. Daniell's chapter on *Mathew Carey and the American Bible Flood* (chapter 35, p.624ff) is particularly relevant on the methods of selling and peddling part works of the Bible from door to door from the *Letters* of Mason Locke Weems.

³⁵⁰ Part 1 was published in March 1839 for one shilling and Part 2 on 1 April.

Another early Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon publication was John Fleetwood's *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and his Apostles* bound together with *The Evidences of Christianity briefly stated and the New Testament proved to be genuine* by P. Doddridge D.D. published in Liverpool on 1 January 1815. [fig. 54] William St Clair mentions Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion* in connection with Cooke's cheap reprints c.1810.³⁵¹ The second title page states it was a stereotype edition. It contains 12 engraved plates and two title page vignettes after William Marshall Craig, one of which, *Jesus Hominum Salvator*, bears the date Liverpool, October 1811. This suggests that text and image are completely separate in their production methods. As the text was stereotyped, the engraved plates can be used in other publications or issued as stand alone prints.

Plates:

1. *The Angel appearing to Zacharia* Craig del. T. Dixon sculp. Dated 1815 (between pages 6-7 but numbered no.7)
2. *Woman of Samaria* W.M. Craig. S. Natim (plate numbered 36)
3. *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* Craig del. Panorma sculp. 1815 (on page 52)
4. *Canaanitish Daughter Healed* Craig del. T. Dixon sculp 1815 (on page 102)
5. *The Good Samaritan* W.M. Craig del. T.Dixon sculp. 1815 (on p.137)
6. *Box of Ointment* Craig del. T. Smith sculp. (p. 220)
7. *Pilate delivering Christ to the Jews* Craig, Palmer 1815 (p. 260)
8. *Mary and Salome at the Sepulchre* Craig, T. Smith 1815 (p. 273)
9. *St Thomas convinced* Craig, Finden sculp 1815 (p. 282)
10. *Conversion of St Paul* W.M. Craig del. Palmer sculp. 1815 (p. 330)
11. *Martyrdom of St Thomas* Craig del, Palmer sculp. 1815 (p. 375)
12. *We follow not cunningly devised fables. (Evidences of Christianity)* Craig del, Smith sculp 1815 (p. 394)

The numbering of certain illustrations and the earlier date on the vignette title may indicate that the text and images come from separate publications and have been brought together here showing how Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon continually manipulated their plate stock. As was seen in Chapter 2.12, Stereotyping meant that they could continually reprint.

A Welsh Religious Publication.

According to the 1816 catalogue Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon even published the *Book of Common Prayer* in Welsh: *Llyfr gweddi gyffredin a gweinidogaeth y sacramentau* in large print, price 9s.

³⁵¹ William St Clair, *The Reading Nation*, op. cit. p. 131 and St Clair lists Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon, Liverpool and Hull in his appendix number 7, p.568 taken from a catalogue in the Gillyat Sumner Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

3.8 Methodist Publications.

One of Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon's most important authors was Adam Clarke (1762-1832) a leading Wesleyan Methodist Minister and Scholar. Clarke, as a young man, had been in Bristol and by 1793 he was in Liverpool. As early as 1802-04 Jonas Nuttall had printed Adam Clarke's *Bibliographical Dictionary; containing a chronological account, alphabetically arranged, of the most curious, scarce, useful, and important books, in all departments of literature, which have been published in Latin, Greek, Coptic, Hebrew, Samaritan, Syriac, Chaldee, Aethiopic, Arabian, Persian, Armenian etc.* Printed by Jonas Nuttall (London, Liverpool and Manchester) for W. Baynes, No. 54 Paternoster Row, London. Leigh's *New Picture of London* (1819) lists William Baynes under both dealer in second hand books and religious bookseller. Samuel Carter Hall remembered working for Baynes as a young man and writes in his memoirs that Messrs. Baynes, publishers of Paternoster Row, were religious publishers.³⁵² There seems to be a strong connection between the firms of Baynes and Fisher that goes beyond Liverpool and London, for example the *Leeds Directory of Trades and Professions* (1822) lists under 'Periodical Publishers and Agents' both Wm. Baynes at George and Dragon Yard and John Hicks (Fisher, London) of 4 Hope Street, which suggests either close collaboration or rivalry.³⁵³ Indeed, the 1816 Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon catalogue in the Bodleian states that their works were also sold by Sherwood, Neely & Jones and W. Baines (sic), Paternoster-Row as well as T. Blanshard, City Road, London.

Adam Clarke also wrote an introduction to Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon's *Bible*, a large folio Bible (17 x 11 x 3 ½ inches, 430 x 280 x 90 mm) with 44 engraved plates (vignette by William Marshall Craig) that was sold in parts issues (most plates are dated 1811-12) but with the publication date of 1813.³⁵⁴ [Figs. 51, 52 & 53]. The catalogue in the Bodleian (1816) lists this as 'The original Grand Folio Bible, to be completed in 12 parts at 7s. each containing 44 superb engravings and frontispieces by Craig' (William Marshall Craig). According to Barry McKay, a further copy of this Bible has the parts numbers printed in the inner-tail margin of the various signatures showing that the Old and New Testaments appeared in 73 parts and the Apocrypha in 11 parts. McKay further states that Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon used widespread and imaginative selling methods to build up a large and profitable business, which may refer

³⁵² Samuel Carter Hall, *Retrospect of a long life from 1815 to 1883* (London, 1883) p.306. Hall began his career in publishing editing *Annals* in 1826 and then edited the *Art Journal* from 1839-1880.

³⁵³ In January 1832 Dr Adam Clarke attended 'the death-bed of his friend and bookseller, Mr William Baynes' from *The Life and Labours of Dr Adam Clarke* (London, 1842) p. 305. Baynes secured for Clarke a Wycliffe 'Black Letter Bible' which turned out to be the oldest copy of the first translation into the English language and had been owned by the youngest son of Edward III (Thomas à Woodstock), pp. 389-391.

³⁵⁴ J.W. Etheridge, *Life of Adam Clarke* (New York, 1859), p.335 mentions Clarke's introduction to *Fisher's Grand Folio Bible*.

back to Timperley as the source.³⁵⁵ There seems to be a strong Wesleyan connection as another author was Thomas Coke (1747-1814) who was the founder and superintendent of the Wesleyan Methodist Overseas Missions from 1804 until his death in 1814 and wrote *A History of the West Indies* printed by Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon between 1808-11. The Wesleyan Minister Reverend James Woods (1751-1840) is listed on the title page of the *Christian's Family Bible*: Liverpool, Caxton Press, printed by Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon c.1818. There are two dates on the Frontispiece (1816) and engraved pictorial title page (1818) as well as 34 plates, three maps and two plans. The title page to the Psalms is also dated 1818. The same year Thomas Kelly published *The Evangelical Family Bible* by Rev. Joseph Knight, 'embellished with elegant engravings' and with exactly the same dimensions as Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon's *Folio Bible* (folio 17 x 11 x 3 ½ inches, 430 x 280 x 90mm).

The first two decades of the nineteenth century were an anxious period for the Methodist movement. The French Revolution and then the Napoleonic Wars created a potential threat to the social order, stability and security of England. After the death of John Wesley in 1791, a series of schisms, particularly among several independent Methodist congregations mostly in Lancashire and Cheshire, threatened to divide the movement. W. John Young states that 'Wesleyan Methodism was very nervous about appearing Revolutionary and reacted unfavourably to the apparently unruly revival movement in 1807 which became Primitive Methodism and later to those pushing for a more democratic organisation in the 1820s and 1830s'.³⁵⁶ Methodist numbers increased from 107,000 in 1805 to 600,000 by 1851, with rapid growth at moments of social tension.³⁵⁷ Charles Knight comments 'the bête noire of half a century was the Methodist'.³⁵⁸ Liverpool was a strong centre and Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon, as a publishing business, probably did well out of this connection. Jonas Nuttall may have known Dr Clarke quite well; there seems to be a connection through the building of a Church at Nutgrove funded by Nuttall in 1811 (Nutgrove was Nuttall's country house).

Throughout the publications of Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon and later in those of Fisher, there is an underlying Christianity which may reflect the context of the age. They began essentially as religious publishers but not necessarily of mainstream Anglican publications but of Non-

³⁵⁵ Barry McKay Rare Books www.vialibri.net Bible 1813. It must also be mentioned that some publications by Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon bear a fourth name: that of Gibson, not mentioned in Timperley.

³⁵⁶ Re. Methodism: My thanks to W. John Young who explained the background of early Methodism to me. See Julia Stewart Werner, *The Primitive Methodist Connexion. Its background and early history* (London, 1984), p.3. Also see *The Online Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland*: www.dmbi.wesleyhistoricalsociety.org.uk.

³⁵⁷ in *Print and the People 1819-1851*, edited Louis James (London, 1976), p. 32.

³⁵⁸ Charles Knight, *Shadows of the old Booksellers* (London, 1865, reprinted Thoemmes Press, 1996), p. 263.

Conformist splinter groups from Anglicanism, such as Methodism. In 1840 Fisher, Son and Co published John Morison's *The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society with a brief sketch of Methodism 1556-1839*. The 1844 edition included 21 portraits.

3.9 Quaker Publications.

Also there is evidence of publishing Quaker authors such as Lucy and Bernard Barton. As late as 1837 there is a letter from the Quaker poet Bernard Barton (1784-1849) to Fisher, Son & Co written on the proofs of Lucy Barton's *The Gospel History of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (to which Bernard Barton wrote the preface) containing many revisions in ink and pencil which are explained in the letter.³⁵⁹ Bernard Barton also provided the introduction for Fishers *Illustrated Pilgrim's Progress*. The most popular single religious work after the Bible was Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (see 3.13).³⁶⁰ Again Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon seem to be following the success of Kelly.

3.10 Hannah More and Religious Tracts.

A constant reprint amongst Fisher's publications were Hannah More's *Works* including *Cheap Repository Tracts* (written from about 1795 but constantly reprinted) and as late as 1844 Fisher's brochures advertised:

More's (Hannah) Popular Works complete in 8 volumes, cloth, gilt £2, the same work, cloth elegant, gilt edges £2. 8 shillings... which may be had separately, cloth 5 shillings each.

An engraving of Hannah More after a painting of 1821 by Henry William Pickersgill A.R.A (1782-1875), a version is in the National Portrait Gallery (NPG 412), was included in Fisher's *National Portrait Gallery* of illustrious and famous personages of the nineteenth century by William Jerdan (in vol. 3 of 4) published by Fisher, Son & Co in 1832. Hannah More (1745-1833) was an evangelical moralist. She wrote a series of ethical books and tracts and her 49 contributions to the *Cheap Repository Tracts*, written with the encouragement by the Bishop of London, Beilby Porteus, were published between 1795 and 1797 by J. Marshall in London and S. Hazard in Bath, at a rate of about three a month and had a circulation of around two million in the first year. These were directed at the poor and were part of a conservative reaction to the French Revolution, against the radical ideas of Thomas Paine (she wrote a reply to his *Rights of Man* called *Village Politics*) and the tracts promoted a trust in God, the British Constitution, and that the poor should put their efforts into sobriety, humility, industry.

³⁵⁹ New York Public Library, Pforzheimer Collection, MISC 2820, dated 17 November 1837. Barton was not only a Quaker poet but friend of Charles Lamb and wrote a poem on the death of Shelley in 1822.

³⁶⁰ see *Print and the People 1819-1851*, edited Louis James (London, 1976), p. 28. The book contains an excellent bibliography.

Her efforts met with opposition from some of the clergy who accused her of Methodist tendencies.³⁶¹ Charles Knight comments:

Wilberforce and Hannah More and the Clapham sect had succeeded in making a portion of the Clergy 'Evangelical'... source of great embarrassment to the worthy booksellers of St Paul's Churchyard, for when the Church became divided into High and Low, half of their old customers went over to a rival shop in Piccadilly.³⁶²

Some of these tracts were republished in 1801 as *Tales for the Common People* and *Stories for the Middle Ranks of Society*. Cadell and Davies published her *Collected Works* several times (1801, 1818 and 1830).

These religious tracts were a major feature of cheap publishing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; they cost between a halfpenny or a penny each or between four shillings and sixpence and six shillings per hundred with 'great allowances being made to shopkeepers and hawkers' and often had a cheap woodcut as an illustration. The publication of Non-Conformist authors may stem from Fisher's geographical origins of being located in Liverpool. It has been said that missionaries were recruited largely from the lower middle classes in urban centres and later Fisher was to publish the works of missionaries like Dr Ellis. Some of Fisher's authors were ordained and probably more mainstream Anglicans and their morality comes through in their descriptions, especially their attitude to the peoples of foreign countries, for example John Carne (ordained but never practiced) in Fisher's *Syria, The Holy Land and Asia Minor Illustrated*, Rev. G.N. Wright in Fisher's *China Illustrated* or Rev. Robert Walsh in *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated*.

The publication of Nonconformist writings from Liverpool should be seen within the context of the time. It must also be remembered that the early decades of the 1800s saw great political instability with incidents like the Peterloo massacre of 13 civilians by the Manchester Yeomanry in 1819³⁶³, Chartism and eventually the passing of the Reform Act in 1832. England was not a settled country in the first decades of the nineteenth century. There was a clash between radical reformers and the government. Against this background it is

³⁶¹ For Hannah More see Mary Alden Hopkins, *Hannah More and her circle* (London, 1947), and more recently: Anne Stott, *Hannah More: The First Victorian* (Oxford, 2003) and Nicholas D. Smith, *The Literary Manuscripts and Letters of Hannah More* (Ashgate, Farnham, 2008), the latter on p.23 mentions a signed and dated autograph contribution to the album of Sarah Ellis, wife of William Ellis. Both Fisher, Son & Co authors. Also *Tales for the Common People and other cheap repository tracts*, edited by Clare MacDonald Shaw (Nottingham, 2002).

³⁶² Charles Knight, *Shadows of the old Booksellers* (London, 1865), p. 265.

³⁶³ *The Literary Gazette*, 9 October 1819, vol. 3, no. 142, p.656 advertised 'An important and interesting narrative of the late proceedings in Manchester' (i. e. The Peterloo Massacre), printed and published by H. Fisher, 87 Bartholomew Close, London.

revealing to find that Parliament in 1818 passed an act to build new churches in the highly populated industrial centres of England. The Church Building Commissioners had £1 million to spend for building new churches which encouraged the construction boom in England of the 1820s.³⁶⁴

3.11 Samuel Drew and the start of Fisher's *Imperial Magazine*. 1819.

Samuel Drew, known as the 'Cornish Metaphysician' (1765-1833), was a friend of both Thomas Coke and Adam Clarke. The death of his elder brother, who was a Methodist, and the funeral oration preached by Dr Clarke moved him to join the Methodists. Drew began to write for Coke, and later wrote a life of Coke in 1815. He also knew John Britton and wrote a *History of Cornwall* (1814).³⁶⁵ In 1819 Drew moved to Liverpool through the recommendation of Clarke.³⁶⁶ He worked at the Caxton Press where he superintended the business and was editor of *The Imperial Magazine* published by Fisher from 1819-1833.³⁶⁷ The title was chosen by Dr Clarke and the full title is: *The Imperial Magazine or compendium of Religious, Moral and Philosophical Knowledge*. Drew's Portrait appears in the first number published in Liverpool and London on 31 March 1819. The price for the magazine was one shilling.³⁶⁸ In June 1819 Drew writes that 'our Magazine goes on exceedingly well. We have sold, thus far, upwards of 7000 of each number.'³⁶⁹ In December 1819 a prospectus of the Magazine appeared in the *Eclectic Review* together with a statement justifying the claims on the cover of issue number two that sales had already exceeded 7000 in England, Ireland, Scotland and America. To silence the indirect attacks upon the authenticity of the sales Henry Fisher thought it necessary to publish with the prospectus an Affidavit:

We the undersigned being Pressmen, in the employ of Mr Henry Fisher at the Caxton Printing Office, Liverpool, solemnly declare upon oath that we have printed 24,250 copies of numbers one, two and three of the *Imperial Magazine*.

The affidavit was sworn at Liverpool on 10 June 1819 by William Lhind, John Doubleday, William Dunn and Edmund Holden and witnessed by the Mayor of Liverpool, J.B. Hollinshead.³⁷⁰ The affidavit has given a rare opportunity to know the names of some of Henry Fisher's thousand strong workforce. Fisher did not miss an opportunity and uses the

³⁶⁴ In this context see Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op.cit. p.21 concerning the architect Francis Goodwin (1784-1835).

³⁶⁵ Not mentioned in Mark Brashay (ed.), *Topographical writers in south-west England* (Exeter, 1996).

³⁶⁶ see *Samuel Drew, the self taught Cornishman* by his son Jacob Halls Drew (London, 1861) p.156 where in 1818 Dr Clarke living at Millbrook near Liverpool recommended Drew as editor and writer to Mr Fisher, 'an extensive publisher in Liverpool'.

³⁶⁷ Timperley, op. cit, p.928 and p.875 for the start of the magazine in February 1819 price one shilling. But Jacob Halls Drew writes the first number was in March.

³⁶⁸ Jacob Halls Drew, *Samuel Drew* op. cit, p.157.

³⁶⁹ op.cit p.159.

³⁷⁰ Fisher dedicated the engraving 'Part of Lord Street with St George's Church in the distance', engraved by Winkles after Harwood, from W.H. Pyne's *Lancashire Illustrated* to Hollinshead, who died in 1827.

prospectus and affidavit to suggest that, 'as this work is published on the first day of every month in most of the principal cities, towns and villages of Great Britain, Ireland and Scotland, and in New York, Philadelphia and Boston in America, about the 21st of the same month', the wrappers would be an ideal vehicle for advertising and that the charges were 50% cheaper than similar publications:

To ensure the insertion of Advertisements, they must be in Liverpool on or before the 21st of each month. They will be printed in a conspicuous manner on the covers of the *Imperial Magazine*, for ready money, at the following prices:

50 words or under 7s.

51 to 100 words 9s.

101 to 150 words 11s.

151 to 200 words 13s.

201 to 250 words 15s.

For every additional 25 words 1s. An entire page of the cover £2.

After the fire of 1821 Drew moved with the business to London and worked with Fisher until his death in 1833, still as editor of *The Imperial Magazine*. The 1832 edition of *The Imperial Magazine* gives lengthy coverage to the death, in that year, of Dr Adam Clarke.³⁷¹ According to Timperley, Clarke tutored Henry's two sons, Robert and Seth Nuttall Fisher.³⁷² In *The Life and Labours of Dr Adam Clarke* it mentions:

Mr Fisher was a very liberal friend to Dr Clarke... he sent his two sons to be educated by the Doctor, allowing him the handsome sum of £200 per annum for their board and tuition. Messrs. Nuttall and Fisher employed Dr Clarke to edit several works which issued from their press, and paid him generously for his labours.³⁷³

Another obituary notice for Clarke in *The Gentleman's Magazine* states that friends of Adam Clarke, concerned for his health and well-being, arranged the purchase of an estate, a few miles from Liverpool, (called Millbrook at Eccleston in Lancashire) and that Jonas Nuttall gave £1000 towards it and that Henry Fisher, 'the proprietor of the Caxton Printing Office, Liverpool' contributed £300.³⁷⁴ These figures are corroborated in *The Life and Labours of Dr. Adam Clarke* published by Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans in 1842, where it states Dr Clarke and his family moved in to Millbrook on 20 September 1815 and that a chapel was built in the grounds as the 'whole population around Millbrook was Roman Catholic'.³⁷⁵ It was called Millbrook in honour of Dr Clarke's friend Samuel Drew who had lived at a place called Millbrook when he was a young man.

³⁷¹ For Samuel Drew see Leslie Stephen, rev. Tim Macquiban *ODNB*/8051 (Oxford, 2004).

³⁷² Timperley, op. cit, pp. 947-49.

³⁷³ *Life and Labours of Dr Clarke* (London, 1842), p. 174, asterixed note at foot of page.

³⁷⁴ *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1832) vol.102, p.275.

³⁷⁵ No author is mentioned on the title page. *The Life and Labours of Adam Clarke* (London, 1842), p. 175.

3.12 Self-help and practical publications.

Among the wide-ranging titles of Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon one finds: John Davies, *The British Guide: or a Directory to Housekeepers and Innkeepers. Containing the best directions in making of choice British wines, with receipts and instructions for flavouring, colouring etc.* Also known as *Davies' Innkeeper's and Butler's Guide*, (Liverpool, 1808).

Many of their publications were illustrated, for example Thomas Green's *Universal Herbal, or, botanical, medical, and agricultural dictionary. Containing an account of all the known plants in the world, arranged according to the Linnean system.*[fig. 55a] There is no date but it was printed at the Caxton Press, Liverpool and the preface is dated 1820 and the plates are dated from 1816-20. According to their 1816 catalogue this work was published in parts. This must have been an expensive book to publish as there are 2 hand-coloured frontispieces and 106 hand-coloured plates engraved by I. Chorley, G. Dobie, I. McGahey, T. Dixon and others.³⁷⁶ It is quite a sophisticated work, for example the plate facing page 620 in volume II is printed in two colours in one pull, green on the right and brown on the left, and then hand-coloured.³⁷⁷ An advertisement in 1818 in *The Literary Panorama* mentions that *The Universal Herbal* was 'now publishing in parts, with engravings plain or finely coloured - plain 5 shillings and coloured 10 shillings each part', suggesting there was a choice for purchasers.³⁷⁸ Jamieson's *Dictionary* 'illustrated with many hundred engravings' went through at least seven editions, from c. 1818 with the last being in 1830 - *A Dictionary of Mechanical Science, Arts, Manufactures and Miscellaneous Knowledge &c.* by Alexander Jamieson, published Henry Fisher, Son & Co (London, 1830). Among the many processes discussed are sections on aquatint, engraving, etching, ink making, mezzotint, printing, stereotype and wood engraving.

Another publication was Oliver Goldsmith's *A History of the Earth and Animated Nature* containing 41 hand coloured plates, originally published in 1774 in 8 volumes, but published by Fisher at the Caxton Press, Liverpool in octavo and comprising four volumes with 35 plates and priced £1. 7s. 6d in their 1816 catalogue. Barry McKay notes that part of it was

³⁷⁶ A McGahey is mentioned many years' later by Robert Fisher in a letter to George Petrie, as being an Irish apprentice in his employ at the Caxton Press, London. Letter dated 14 April, 1829. NLI Ms. 790, no. 189

³⁷⁷ Information gleaned from Bloomsbury Auctions, New York, 11 November, 2008 Lot 92C. Online www.liveauctioneers.com/item/5856614

³⁷⁸ *The Literary Panorama and National Register*, vol. 7 published Simpkin & Marshall and Charles Taylor (London, 1818), no page number but advertisements at the end.

printed on inferior paper stock as it has browned with age.³⁷⁹ McKay has also confirmed that Fisher did publish Goldsmith's book later in London (see below p.143).

3.13 *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

A constant favourite with popular publishers was Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The London publishers Hogg and Kelly had this as a staple (see above for Kelly). Alexander Hogg published a version of Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress with Mason's Notes* complete in two parts, printed at the King's Arms, 16 Paternoster Row, London in around 1796. [fig. 56] It was vaunted as 'an entire new and complete edition embellished with a more superb and elegant set of copper-plates than was ever given with any former edition: being elegantly engraved by Burder, Conder, Hall and other eminent artists'. There are sixteen plates.³⁸⁰

Also available from Hogg in 'only Eighty Numbers at sixpence each making six handsome volumes in octavo' were Bunyan's *Complete Works* 'embellished with the most superb, numerous and elegant set of copper-plates engraved by Thornton, Hawkins, Morris, Pollard, Grainger, Golder, Cary, Noble, Burder, Conder, Walker, Wooding, Hall &c. from the original designs of Dodd, Hamilton and others'.

Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon seem to follow suit with an illustrated version of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, c. 1811-1814. The National Library of Australia's copy is dated from the plates to 1814 with seven plates designed by W.M. Craig and a frontispiece of Bunyan engraved by C. Halpin and dated 1811. The edition states it is a new, revised, corrected and improved one and was stereotyped.³⁸¹ Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon's 1816 catalogue lists *The Pilgrim's Progress* as being available in three parts, priced 7s 6d with eight fine plates. That Bunyan's works were both enduring and profitable to publish is shown in two adverts that appeared in the back of Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* for 1836 promoting a new edition of Bunyan's *The*

³⁷⁹ Barry McKay Books online, number 169, where he mentions that Goldsmith's *A History of the Earth and Animated Nature* went through 20 editions in the Victorian period. Consulted 24 June 2010.

³⁸⁰ The frontispiece plate is a portrait of Bunyan by G. Burder, plate two by T. Conder is a plan of the road from the city of destruction to the celestial city, plate three by Burder is the evangelist directing Christian, plate four shows Christian being met by the evangelist at the hill (Burder), plate five Christian admitted at the wicket gate (Burder), plate six the burden of Christian falling from his back (Burder), plate seven Christian passing between the Lions (S. Wale del, C.Hall sc.), plate eight Christian and Apollyon fighting (Burder), plate nine Christian perceives the mouth of Hell (Burder), plate ten Vanity Fair (Burder), plate eleven Faithful burnt at a stake (Burder), Christian and Hopeful escape from Doubting Castle (Burder), plate thirteen Hopeful conducting Christian through the River (Burder), plate fourteen Christiana, her children leave the city of Destruction (Burder), plate fifteen The Pilgrims pass by the Gibbet of Simple, Sloth and Presumption (C. Hall), plate sixteen The Pilgrims rejoicing after having destroyed Giant Despair and his Castle (Burder).

³⁸¹ National Library of Australia, <http://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/1539174>.

Pilgrim's Progress with a *Life* by Josiah Conder and illustrated with 13 highly finished engravings from drawings by J.M.W. Turner and Henry Melville. On a later page this same publication is advertised as being sold in monthly parts, engraved on steel, by Goodall, Brandard, Bentley, Floyd, Kernot, Presbury, Wranckmore, Sands, Tingle &c, from drawings by J.M.W. Turner and H. Melville. Two letters survive from Fisher, Son & Co to Mr Winstanley, Secretary of the Royal Institution, Manchester dated July 1835 in which the publisher proposes to send a watercolour painting by A. Chisholm of *The Widow's Mite* and some drawings by H. Melville illustrating various portions of the *The Pilgrim's Progress* which they would like exhibited in the forthcoming exhibition. Indeed the *Drawing Room Scrap Book* for 1836 has illustrations of number 6 *The Palace called Beautiful*, drawn by H. Melville and engraved by J.C. Bentley and dated 1835, [fig. 57] number 7 *The Destruction of Doubting Castle*, drawn by H. Melville and engraved by J. Sands and dated 1835. The publisher ends his letter to Mr Winstanley by mentioning that the '*Pilgrim's Progress* plates are designed for a new and elegant edition... that work to be published during the ensuing winter'. The price for the *The Pilgrim's Progress* subjects taking the whole were 8 guineas each or separately 10 guineas each.³⁸²

3.14 Crime and the rise of the Gothic bluebooks.

Biographies of criminals and tales of the low life, as David McKitterick writes, had been the mainstay of street literature since the early eighteenth century.³⁸³ Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon were no exception and published the following: *The new Newgate Calendar: being interesting memoirs of notorious characters, who have been convicted of outrages on the laws of England... chronologically arranged: comprising traitors, murderers, incendiaries...* by Andrew Knapp and William Baldwin. Printed by and for J. and J. Cundee, Ivy Lane, London (just off Paternoster Row and the future address of George Virtue's business) and Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon, Liverpool.³⁸⁴ Here again one sees a similar pattern of popular publishing as Alexander Hogg's catalogue c. 1796 lists at number five: *The New Newgate Calendar; or, malefactor's bloody register, embellished with a set of new copper-plates engraved from the original designs of Samuel Wale Esq, Mr Dodd, &c. by Pollard, Reynoldson, Taylor &c.* Hogg's work was available in fifty numbers, either in weekly or monthly parts priced at

³⁸² Letters from Fisher, Son & Co to Mr Winstanley, Secretary of the Royal Institution, Manchester, Manchester Public Libraries MSS M6/1/55 and M6/1/55/333 dated 27 and 30 July 1835. See Appendix 4, section two for a transcription of the letters.

³⁸³ David McKitterick, *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (2009), op. cit. p. 46.

³⁸⁴ The same book but under the title *The Criminal Recorder or biographical sketches of notorious public characters etc by a student of the Inner Temple* was published with the publishing line: printed and published James Cundee, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row, sold by T. Hunt and H.D. Symonds, Paternoster Row. There are four volumes: vol. I, 1804, vol II, 1804, vol III, 1810 and vol IV, 1809. No mention of Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon.

sixpence or available in five large volumes in octavo priced £1. 10s. [fig. 58] The John Johnson collection in Oxford has a single sheet with two small images (each 2 x 3 inches) of *New Prison Clerkenwell* and *Tothill Fields Bridewell* published 1 October 1809 by Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon, Liverpool. No artist or engraver is credited.³⁸⁵ The engraved plate was the frontispiece to Volume III of *The new Newgate Calendar*, printed in London by J. and J. Cundee published for Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon, Liverpool in 1810. [fig. 59].

Within the four volumes of the *Newgate Calendar* were copper-plate engraved portraits of criminals such as the stipple-engraved *Portrait of George Barrington*, a notorious felon (Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon, Liverpool. 1 February 1810). Sheila O'Connell classifies the *Newgate Calendars* as aimed at the middle class market for moralizing literature but there must have been some element of titillation as well.³⁸⁶

Among the popular literature of this period c.1796-1810 was the Gothic bluebook and it is significant that Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon did not seem to publish this substrata of 'shilling shockers' although James Cundee of Ivy Lane is listed as having done so.³⁸⁷ Angela Koch makes a most pertinent point when she states that these bluebooks became popular during the period of the French Revolutionary Wars. It was an escapist genre, renouncing politics for imaginary terrors or horrors with stories of haunted castles, bandits, murderers, grim personages set in a remote, feudal or medieval time but its main plot had a love interest. This mixture of fantasy and romance appealed. The titles of these bluebooks (the covers were a garish blue) might have been long but their length was usually short, between 30 and 70 pages. Among the most prolific of the writers was Sarah Sculge Wilkinson. There is evidence that these books appealed not only to a new growing readership (that Koch argues came out of the changes in the social system owing to technological progress) but also to young juveniles like Shelley and Southey. Essentially the catalyst for this sub literary genre came out of the eighteenth-century chap-book tradition and the triple decker gothic novels beginning in 1765 with Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* through to Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) and ending with Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) as was seen in Chapter 1.7. Clearly these triple deckers were beyond this new readership in terms of price and sophistication but held an appeal in the same way as the shocking crimes of the

³⁸⁵ John Johnson collection, shelfmark Crime 9 (24). My thanks to Julie-Anne Lambert for supplying me with the images.

³⁸⁶ Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, op. cit, p. 24.

³⁸⁷ Angela Koch, 'The absolute horror of horrors. Revised. A bibliographical checklist of early nineteenth-century Gothic bluebooks' in *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic* (Cardiff, 2002), issue 9. pp. 5-26 and www.cf.ac.uk/encap/romtext.

Newgate Calendar. In looking at Koch's bibliography it is revealing to see that the publishers were almost all based in and around the City of London with addresses in Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row, Somers Town, Sherbourn Lane, West Smithfield, Cheapside, Threadneedle Street, Coleman Street and Houndsditch. However the distribution and circulation of these bluebooks took them far and wide throughout the provincial towns and cities of the United Kingdom. Over 20 booksellers are listed in the following towns: Edinburgh, Dublin, Birmingham, Liverpool, Newcastle, Bristol, York, Manchester, Leeds, Bury St Edmunds, Bath, Plymouth, Nottingham, Ipswich, Norwich, Salisbury, Derby, Coventry, Shrewsbury, Gosport and Rotherham. This hints at a healthy activity albeit of a low-brow genre and merits further investigation.³⁸⁸

3.15 Royalty.

A stipple portrait of *Queen Elizabeth I* (n.d.), and at least eight stipple-engraved portraits of the Royal Family including *Princess Charlotte Augusta of Wales* by Robert Hicks, *Leopold I* by Robert Hicks, *Marriage of the Princess Charlotte of Wales to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg* by Robert Hicks, *First interview of the Princess Charlotte with Prince Leopold* by T. Dixon, *Funeral procession of the Princess Charlotte* by T. Dixon, are all dated January to April 1818. The last three engravings were after drawings or portraits by William Marshall Craig (d. 1827). Craig was drawing master to Princess Charlotte of Wales, miniature painter to the Duke and Duchess of York and painter in watercolours to Queen Charlotte.³⁸⁹ The dimensions of the engravings are 5 1/8 x 7 7/8 inches (131 x 201 mm). These engravings were possibly commissioned for Thomas Green's *Memoirs of Her late Royal Highness Charlotte-Augusta of Wales, and of Saxe-Coburg; containing an account of her juvenile years, education, marriage with Prince Leopold, accouchement, death and funeral etc.* Caxton Press. Printed by Henry Fisher (Liverpool, n.d. but c.1818).³⁹⁰ There are nine engraved plates and woodcut illustrations within the text. Corroborative evidence comes from Adam Clarke in a letter to his son John dated 1817 where he says 'Mr Fisher wishes much to have some memoirs of the Princess'.³⁹¹

³⁸⁸ Angela Koch, 'The absolute horror of horrors. Revised. A bibliographical checklist of early nineteenth-century Gothic bluebooks' in *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic* (Cardiff, 2002), issue 9, pp. 5-26 and www.cf.ac.uk/encap/romtext.

³⁸⁹ For William Marshall Craig see article by Austin Dobson, rev. Annette Peach, *Craig, William Marshall*, *ODNB*/6583 (Oxford, 2004). Strangely the *ODNB* entry does not list the following work: *Memoir of Her Majesty Sophia Charlotte, of Mecklenburg Strelitz, Queen of Great Britain.../ The whole being collected, arranged and written by W. M. Craig... assisted by the communications of many distinguished persons*. Liverpool: Caxton Press: printed by Henry Fisher, printer in ordinary to His Majesty; and sold at his warehouse... London and in the principal towns of the United Kingdom (Liverpool, 1818). Advert for this title in *The Imperial Magazine*, 31 July 1819, no. 132, p.496.

³⁹⁰ This date is mentioned in 'A chronological catalogue of books published in Liverpool up to 1850' by Albert J. Mott in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire 1860-61* (Liverpool, 1861) catalogue number 255. Advert for this title in *The Imperial Magazine* 31 July 1819, no. 132, p. 496.

³⁹¹ J.W. Etheridge, *Life of Adam Clarke* (New York, 1859), p. 468.

3.16 Celebrity Publishing.

Quite early on Jonas Nuttall collaborated with James Cundee in rushing out three editions of Archibald Duncan's *Life of Nelson* between December 1805 and January 1806, just after Nelson's death at Trafalgar. The third edition even had an account of Nelson's funeral. The book contained an engraved portrait frontispiece of Nelson and thirteen other engravings including portraits of Earl St Vincent and Captain Barry as well as folding plans of the Battles of Aboukir and Trafalgar. The publishing line reads: James Cundee, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row and J. Nuttall, Liverpool, 1806.

William Marshall Craig and T. Dixon also collaborated on a print of Dublin published by Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon and dated February 1816: *View of the City of Dublin from Foster Aqueduct looking southward* (6 ¼ x 9 inches, 160 x 230mm). This is the first link to Ireland which becomes important to H. Fisher, Son & Co with their first large scale illustrated topographical publication twelve years later in 1828.³⁹² The same year a print of *College Green and Westmorland Street from Grafton Street, Dublin* was published by Thomas Kelly, Paternoster Row, London, November 16, 1816 (8 x 10 inches, 203 x 254mm). The larger size suggests that both may have been intended as stand alone prints, often found stuck on to framed Regency glass mounts.

3.17 Conduct Books.

A rather naïve engraving of the *Death of Lady Jane Grey* accompanies *The Female Instructor, or Young Woman's Companion, being a guide to all accomplishments which adorn the Female character* etc. This work was published c. 1812 and no author was listed. An internet search suggested several possible authors including Felicia Dorothea Hemans.³⁹³ Felicia Dorothea Hemans, as has been mentioned earlier, was born in close proximity to the offices of the Caxton Press in Liverpool. In 1808, aged 14, her first poems were published thanks to William Roscoe (1753-1831), the leading Liverpool literary personality, who arranged for his publisher Cadell and Davies to publish them.³⁹⁴ Nanora Sweet claims Hemans was the 'most considerable woman poet of the Romantic period'. Her best known poem is *Casabianca*, celebrated more for its first line, 'The Boy stood on the burning deck'

³⁹² mentioned in E MacDowell Cosgrave, 'A contribution towards a catalogue of nineteenth-century engravings of Dublin', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, fifth series, vol.36, no. 4 (fifth series, vol. 16, Dec. 31, 1906), pp. 400-419.

³⁹³ This work is not listed in any bibliography or biography of Hemans such as the ODNB12888 entry by the acknowledged expert on Hemans, Nanora Sweet.

³⁹⁴ For Roscoe see 1.7 and 1.9.

than for the rest of the poem.³⁹⁵ A mezzotint of Felicia Hemans, painted by William Edward West (1788-1857) and engraved by W. Holl, was published by Fisher, Son & Co and is dated 1837.³⁹⁶ She was certainly prolific publishing twenty volumes and approximately four hundred poems in the magazines and annuals of her time.³⁹⁷ Indeed in the 1830s some of these poems appeared in the annuals including those published by Fisher, Son and Co alongside the illustrations of Thomas Allom, William Henry Bartlett and others. Earlier in 1806, Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon had published *The Self Instructor, or Young Man's Best Companion; being an introduction to all the various branches of useful learning and knowledge. Containing writing, grammar, arithmetic, astronomy, geography, chronology, and miscellaneous articles etc.*³⁹⁸ Until further corroboration, it is pure speculation to assume that the nineteen-year-old Hemans was commissioned by Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon to write *The Female Instructor* as a companion piece. The book proved popular and a new improved edition with eight plates dated 1824-32 was published in London in 1834 by H. Fisher, Son and Co. Another possibility is that the author may have been Mrs Esther Copley. Much later, in 1843 Fisher advertised *A Young Woman's Own Book and Female Instructor*, along with three other works by Copley including *Scripture Biography*, *Scripture History for Youth* and *Scripture Natural History for Youth* (2 vols, 82 engravings). The latter book reviewed in the *Literary Gazette* of 1828 (author given as Esther Hewlett née Copley) drew the comment: 'Quite a treasure for any deserving child, from six years of age to the time of teens. All the animals mentioned in Scripture are not only well described, but a multitude of coloured prints serve to rivet their forms... these two infantile-looking quartos are in themselves a valuable library'.³⁹⁹ Conduct and Courtesy Books remained a part of Fisher's business and shows the continuity of Fisher's religious and part publishing business from its origins in Liverpool to the height of its fortunes in London in the mid 1840s.⁴⁰⁰

3.18 Map Publishing.

Another constant throughout Fisher's career was the publication of maps. One of the earliest was a chart of the *East India Islands* dated 1814, and the *Old World, or Eastern Hemisphere*, drawn and engraved by J. Russell, Pratt Place, Camden Town and published by Nuttall,

³⁹⁵ Her poem *The Homes of England* beginning 'The Stately Homes of England' was later parodied by Noel Coward.

³⁹⁶ As listed in New York Public Library, Pforzheimer Collection, research call number Pforz UMAT (Hemans. F), dimensions 11.3 x 9.5 cm see <http://catalog.nypl.org/search>.

³⁹⁷ Nanora Sweet ODNB/12888.

³⁹⁸ The date was gleaned from Albert J. Mott, *A chronological survey*, op. cit. number 166.

³⁹⁹ *Literary Gazette* 1828, p.649.

⁴⁰⁰ Advert in the back of Mrs Ellis' *Wives of England* (London, 1843).

Fisher and Dixon, Liverpool, June 1814 (dimensions 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, 95 x 245 mm).⁴⁰¹ A map of *Ancient Europe* by J. Aspin, engraved by A. Keith is dated 1816 and published by Nuttall, Fisher & Co, Liverpool. This map was part of Jehoshaphat Aspin's *Universal History, or a systematic analysis of the history of all nations*, published in parts at 5s. each (of which seven had appeared according to the catalogue of 1816) [fig. 55b]. There was also J.W. Clarke's *A New Geographical Dictionary* in its second edition in the 1816 catalogue, 'embellished with fine views of the principal cities of the world' (*Imperial Magazine*, 31 July 1819) and published in parts at 5s. each. [fig. 55c]. The 1816 catalogue lists a *Quarto Atlas* containing maps of all parts of the world, (containing 30 maps according to the John Johnson advert of c.1812)⁴⁰² price 12s. coloured and 8s. plain. Some maps are engraved by J.H. Franks and W. Swann with the imprint Henry Fisher, Caxton, Liverpool. There is also a map of *Africa* dated 1825. By the time Fisher, Son & Co are established in London, maps are regularly found in their illustrated publications. They also produced Fisher's *County Atlas of England and Wales* with steel engraved maps (circa 1840s), for example they issued part works of the *County Atlas*, part number 15 was *Somersetshire*, a folio map measuring 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 15 inches (320 x 380mm), and published 1 September 1844.⁴⁰³ George Virtue also published maps in numbers as seen in his 1836 advertisement in part 12 of *Scotland Illustrated* for Moule's *English Counties* [fig. 60].

3.19 'The Largest Periodical Warehouse in the United Kingdom'.

One can see how Fisher's training in Liverpool and the diverse nature of the business, with part works, innovative selling, marketing and distribution methods and the use of engravings were to play a significant role in the future development of his business. Timperley says the Caxton printing office in Liverpool was the largest periodical warehouse in the United Kingdom. It contained 16 printing presses, ten copper-plate presses, apparatus for heating the plates, 16,000 pounds weight of type, 700 reams of paper, 400 original drawings, two patent hydraulic presses, 10,000 pages of stereotype plates and three and a half million part-works in folio, quarto and octavo sizes.⁴⁰⁴ The Caxton printing works were indeed large at either five,

⁴⁰¹ See National Library of Australia online digital collection of maps at: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm2279> and rm1450.

⁴⁰² John Johnson collection, shelfmark Booktrade London N, subsection Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon c.1812.

⁴⁰³ See Jonathan Potter, Biographies of some of the famous cartographers at www.jpmaps.co.uk under *The Family and Companies Fisher* where he states: 'Fisher, Son & Co, were publishers based in London and Paris who flourished between the years 1825 and 1845... the Fishers were responsible for a large output of maps in an age when atlas production was again ...'. See also R.V. Tooley's *Dictionary of Mapmakers* volume E-J (2001) and David Hulse's website at www.oldmapsprintsbooks.co.uk. For details of *Fisher's County Atlas* see Thoma Chubb, *The Printed Maps in the Atlases of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1927).

⁴⁰⁴ Timperley, op. cit. p. 879.

six or seven storeys high.⁴⁰⁵ It had been purpose built as a cotton mill in about 1790 by a Mr Pennington. The steam powered cotton mill also pumped and supplied water from their well to the adjoining Bolton Street Baths.⁴⁰⁶ The baths were described in Wallace's 1795 *A General and Descriptive History of the Ancient and Present State of the Town of Liverpool* and in Moss's 1796 *The Liverpool Guide*. By 1812 the factory had been bought by the firm of Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon and in 1821 it was destroyed by fire.⁴⁰⁷

According to Timperley, by 1818 Jonas Nuttall and his partner Francis Dixon had retired, leaving Henry Fisher as sole proprietor employing approximately 1,000 people.⁴⁰⁸ After the Caxton Press Warehouse fire of 1821 it was reported that this resulted in the unemployment of 100 people. Therefore it can be estimated that Fisher employed another 900 throughout the rest of England. By this time Henry Fisher was certainly prosperous; according to Timperley, he built a property called Caxton Lodge some eleven miles outside Liverpool. Another indication of this prosperity is his ownership of a large picture by the Liverpool marine artist John Jenkinson (active 1800-1821) An engraving entitled *View of the Town and Harbour of Liverpool, from Seacombe* after Jenkinson and engraved by T. Dixon, was published by Henry Fisher, Caxton, Liverpool on 13 November 1820 and we are told, in the publishing line underneath, that it was 'engraved by T. Dixon from a painting by Jenkinson in the possession of Henry Fisher, taken in 1816'. The size of the picture is exceedingly large at 8 feet by 5.⁴⁰⁹

In 1820 the *Monthly Magazine or British Register* reported on Liverpool and mentions The Caxton Press:

In noticing the literature of this place, the Caxton printing office cannot be passed over in silence. Large quantities of cheap editions of many valuable works, principally divinity, issue from this press, which are sold in monthly numbers to the inferior classes of people. The *Imperial Magazine*, a monthly publication also proceeds from the same source with considerable sale.⁴¹⁰

3.20. Fisher's distribution network.

⁴⁰⁵ Drew says seven, Michael Suarez, basing his view on the engraving in the Bodleian, says five, see below.

⁴⁰⁶ I am grateful to Dr. Peter Leeming of the University of Manchester Archaeological Unit for supplying me with his report, *Land bounded by Skelthorne Street, Copperas Hill and Bolton Street, Liverpool, an archaeological desk-based assessment* (Manchester, 2002) p.14 section 4.4.4.

⁴⁰⁷ see J. Wallace, *A general and Descriptive History of the Ancient and Present State of the Town of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1795) W. Moss, *The Liverpool Guide* (1796 and reprinted 1974) and J.A. Picton, *Memorial of Liverpool, historical and topographical*, 2nd edn, vol 2 (London, 1875).

⁴⁰⁸ However, see Theodore Barker and John Harris, *A Merseyside Town in the Industrial Revolution. St Helens 1750-1900* (1993) where it is stated that Nuttall retired in 1810 to Nut Grove near Thatto Heath and died in 1837. Adam Clarke mentions that he met up with Mr Nuttall and Mr Fisher somewhere between Prescot and Warrington and they 'took me to their place called Nutgrove'. In J.W. Etheridge, *Life of Adam Clarke* (New York, 1859), chapter VII, p.266.

⁴⁰⁹ The Government Art Collection has a coloured engraving (acquisition no. 12140 - www.gac.culture.gov.uk) ; a search of the Liverpool Museums revealed several Jenkinson views of Liverpool but not this one (www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk).

⁴¹⁰ *Monthly Magazine or British Register*, vol 50, December 1820, p.396.

At a crucial moment in 1819, just as Henry Fisher took over complete control of the Caxton Press, following the retirement of Jonas Nuttall and Francis Dixon, an advertisement in both the *Literary Gazette* and *Eclectic Review* reveals Fisher's distribution network.⁴¹¹ The advertisements list where orders and advertisements for the *Imperial Magazine* can be placed. By using contemporary trade directories (*Pigots, Holden, Underhill* and *Wrightson*) and book trade indexes (BBTI and SBTI) it has been possible to add further information to this list, for example some first names, trades and street numbers:

London: 87 Bartholomew Place

Liverpool: Caxton printing office

Leeds: Mr Hicks, Lady Lane (by 1822: 4 Hope Street and 'agent to H. Fisher, London'), source BBTI.

Birmingham: Mr Robert Rowe, periodical bookseller St Paul's Square (Wrightson's Directory of Birmingham, 1818) and in BBTI

Plymouth: Mr John Gibson, 7 Frankfort Street, bookseller, bookbinder, publisher (Exeter working papers in Book History 7, Ian Maxted) and in BBTI

Bristol, Mr Hoppell or Hooppell, Philadelphia Street

Edinburgh: Mr John Jones, 14 South Richmond Street, book publisher (Pigot's 1816-19, SBTI)

Glasgow: Mr Peter Houston, 13 New Wynd, periodical agent ('agent to Liverpool & Co'. Pigot's 1820, SBTI)

Dublin: Mr Wood, 41 Stafford Street

Belfast: Mr William Manning, 30 Chapel Lane, bookseller (Belfast and Lisburn directory, 1819)

Oxford: Mr Gooden, Saint Thomas's (by 1830 Pigot's directory lists a Charles Gooden at Pembroke Street as bookseller and stationer)

Newcastle upon Tyne: Mr Scott, King James's Street

Whitehaven: Mr Dunglison (BBTI lists Jane Dunglison, 122 Queen Street in 1828-29)

Kendal: Mr William Stephenson, periodical vender (sic), 7 Stricklandgate Place (Kendal Township directory)

Newcastle and Potteries: Mr Davidson, Bagnall Street

Shrewsbury: Mr Canavan, New Street

Portsea: Mr Bateman, Half Way Houses

Norwich: Mr Butler, Bridge Street

Lynn: Mr Smith, Chapel Street

Canterbury: Mr Ireland

Rochester: Mr Henry Edmed (BBTI lists address as 83 East Gate, 1819-32)

Ipswich: Mr Purcell

Rye: Mr Smitheren

America: Mr Hacking, 101 Cherry Street, New York.⁴¹²

This list is significant for both the towns it includes and those it leaves out. Some large towns are not represented such as Coventry, Derby, Hull, Leicester, Manchester, Nottingham,

⁴¹¹ *Literary Gazette*, 31 July 1819, no. 132, p. 496. The advertisement is for *The Imperial Magazine* but it lists where orders and advertisements for the magazine can be placed. *Eclectic Review*, vol. 12, December 1819, pp. 641-644.

⁴¹² Hacking is a Lancashire name according to *Oxford Dictionary of English Surnames* (Oxford, 2005), p. 210.

Sheffield and York. However, this list of 23 agents or distribution points is quite extensive and shows the geographical intensity of distribution as well as the role of location in the competitive strategy of Henry Fisher.⁴¹³ It also shows how early Fisher was involved with the American market and the advertisement for the *Imperial Magazine* continues by stating that the magazine is published in America in New York, Philadelphia and Boston 'about the 21st' of each month.

3.21 The Liverpool Warehouse Fire of 1821.

There seems to be some confusion over the exact date of the 1821 Liverpool warehouse fire as Timperley gives two different dates, 30 January and 7 February, in which the fire destroyed the plant and stock at The Caxton Press, Copperas Hill, Liverpool valued at £40,000 although the printing works were only insured for £36,000.⁴¹⁴ A brief mention of this fire is made in *Lancashire Illustrated* when comparing it to other warehouse fires:

The devastation produced by the ignition of the Caxton Printing Offices, in 1821, which destroyed valuable property to a vast amount, awful and extensive as it was ...⁴¹⁵

Samuel Drew was a witness to the fire and in a letter dated 30 January 1821 he states he was woken on Tuesday morning about three o'clock and was told the Caxton Printing Office was on fire. On looking out of his window he saw the blaze. He says some of the men rescued 150 reams of paper, nearly all the copper-plates and a small quantity of type. Drew was able to enter his office and rescue his papers. He says that the building was seven stories high.⁴¹⁶ Shortly afterwards the roof fell in carrying with it floor after floor. Some pieces of flaming paper were carried near Everton about a mile away. He confirms that this disaster caused 100 people to lose their jobs and that the property was insured for £36,000. Printing Presses, Copper-Plate Presses and thousands upon thousands weight of type melted. The work of the Caxton Press was upset for a season and led to Fisher moving the business to London the following midsummer.⁴¹⁷

Other accounts of the fire appear in *John Bull* (February 4 and 7) and in *Dodsley's Annual Register* where it states 'with other articles destroyed were 12 Printing Presses, 10 Copper-Plate Presses, 400 Drawings, 700 reams of paper, 10,000 pages of stereotype plates, 15,000

⁴¹³ Michael E. Porter, *On Competition* (Harvard, 2008) mentions passim the importance of location in competition and C.K. Prahalad, *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid* (New Jersey, 2009), p.18 comments on the inability of the urban poor to travel great distances and how important geographical intensity of distribution is.

⁴¹⁴ compare Timperley's accounts on p.879 and on pp. 947-49.

⁴¹⁵ W. H. Pyne, D. Wylie, and others, *Lancashire Illustrated* (London, 1831), p.60.

⁴¹⁶ Michael Suarez, writing about the engraving of the Caxton Building in Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon's catalogue, contradicts Drew's statement and says it was 'a factory building of five storeys, each eleven substantial windows across' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, (Cambridge, 2009), p.31.

⁴¹⁷ Samuel Drew op.cit. p.156-163.

pounds weight of type, 2 hydraulic presses, 3 million folio, quarto and octavo numbers. It was the largest periodical publication warehouse in the United Kingdom'.⁴¹⁸

The fire probably precipitated Fisher's move to London but, given the constant cooperation in the previous decade between London and Liverpool, one suspects that this might have been inevitable. Indeed Fisher was in London on business at the time of the fire. Liverpool continues to feature in the advertisements but no longer as Fisher's main headquarters, imprints for Fisher, Son and Co as late as 1844, advertise an office at Hunter Street and Post Office Place, Liverpool.⁴¹⁹ Yet thirty years' earlier, in 1810, the office of Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon had been 19 Duke Street, Liverpool. Certainly Fisher seems to have kept some of his staff for up to 20 years as can be seen in an extract from a letter to George Petrie written 4 April, 1829: ⁴²⁰

We are perhaps the only House to have patronized the Irish in taking their boy apprentices and we have several who have been with us in different departments for 10, 15 and 20 years.

This would suggest that some of his staff had been in his employ since 1809. Indeed Timperley mentions that at Henry Fisher's funeral in 1837 many of his employees came to pay their last respects, some of whom had been in his employ for 36 years.⁴²¹

Yet what did Henry Fisher do in the seven year period between the Caxton Press in Liverpool burning down in early 1821 and the busy period in London in 1828 when he was working on at least three projects: *Lancashire Illustrated*, *Devon and Cornwall Illustrated* and *Ireland Illustrated*? As has been seen from the trade directories Fisher was operating in London from 87 Bartholomew Close as a 'Publisher of Works in Numbers' but still with the name Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon till at least 1818, when Nuttall and Dixon retired, and then from 1822 Fisher is listed as having his printing works at 15 Owen's Row, Clerkenwell and a publishing office at 38 Newgate Street.⁴²² Timperley reports that after the Liverpool fire 'Mr Fisher removed to London, accompanied by all his foremen and a great number of those employed by him'.⁴²³

In the Leeds *Directory of Trades and Professions* (1822), published by Edward Baines, there is mention of John Hicks now 'agent to H. Fisher, Caxton Press, London' and who had

⁴¹⁸ *Dodsley's Annual Register*, vol 63, 1821-22 printed for Baldwin, Cradock and Joy (London, 1822), p.24.

⁴¹⁹ For example Fisher's *Colonial Magazine and Journal of Trade, Commerce and Banking*, New Series - 1844, Volume I, has as its publishing line: Fisher, Son & Co, The Caxton Press, Angel Street-Newgate Street, London; Post Office Place, Liverpool and Piccadilly, Manchester.

⁴²⁰ Robert Fisher to George Petrie, NLI Ms 790, no. 189.

⁴²¹ Timperley, op. cit. p.949. Henry Fisher died 28 June 1837 at Highbury Park, London.

⁴²² In a copy of *Views in India, chiefly among the Himalaya Mountains*, Emma Roberts (ed.) and Lieutenant George Francis White (London, 1836) I found a contemporary pencil inscription with 26 Owens Row.

⁴²³ Timperley, op. cit. p.948.

moved from his previous address in Lady Lane to 4 Hope Street, Leeds. This is very important as it shows two crucial facts: one that Fisher was already operating the Caxton Press in London by 1822 (which confirms the information in Todd) and that, secondly, it confirms the continuation of Fisher's business practice of employing agents in some of the major provincial cities in England.

In 1825 Henry Fisher took his son, Robert, as a partner and also Peter Jackson, his 'old and faithful London Agent'⁴²⁴ and from at least 1827 the firm was known as H. Fisher, Son and Co. or as H. Fisher, Son and P. Jackson. By 1830 one finds Robert Fisher as a steward of the 41st Literary Fund Dinner held at Freemason's Hall on Wednesday 12 May at 6pm and among his fellow stewards are the publishers Richard Bentley, Thomas Longman junior, John Murray junior, as well as the President of the Royal Academy Martin Archer Shee, the authors Edward Bulwer Lytton, George Crabbe, Samuel Rogers, Thomas Roscoe and the Rev. Dr Walsh, the latter being a future author for Fisher (*Constantinople and the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated*, 1838).

3.22 Bartholomew Close, London.

Fisher's London warehouse was situated at 87 Bartholomew Close. It seems that Bartholomew Close was at the heart of printing in eighteenth-century London. C.H. Timperley's *Dictionary of Printers and Printing* mentions Bartholomew Close at least a dozen times in connection with printers and letter-founders who lived and worked there between 1673 and 1796. Among them are the Darby family of printers and the James family of letter-founders. Timperley describes John James of Bartholomew Close who died in 1772 as 'the last of the old race of letter-founders' and states that his foundry 'consisted of the united foundries of Rolij, the German, Mr Grover, the father, Mr Thomas Grover, Mr Moxon, Mr Robert Andrews, Mr Silvester Andrews, his son, Mr Head, Mr Robert Mitchell and Mr Jacob Iline' and adds that after Mr James's death 'all the curious collection of punches, matrices and types' were bought by John Nichols in 1778. The last mention by Timperley is of Millar Ritchie, Albion Buildings, Bartholomew Close whom he states 'may justly be considered the father of English fine printing' and gives as an example a Bible of 1796.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁴ Timperley, op.cit. p.948 mentions that Robert Fisher was at Cambridge University at the time of the fire (1821) 'with the intention of entering the Church'.

⁴²⁵ Timperley, op. cit pp. 589, 616, 647, 655, 660, 661, 714, 728, 734 and 791.

In the period c. 1804-1810 a printer and publisher named John Arliss was listed at 87 Bartholomew Close. He printed several 'Gothic bluebooks' such as *The Castle de Albani, or the Usurper punished: including the memoirs of the Countess of St Alva and her daughter Isabella. An original romance*, as well as *Rayland Hall or the remarkable adventures of Orlando Somerville. An original story*.

What can the imprints tell us? One of the earliest London references to Fisher's Bartholomew Close printing office is in: *An impartial narrative of the late melancholy occurrences in Manchester*, Liverpool: printed and published by Henry Fisher, Caxton Printing Office; and 87 Bartholomew-close (sic), London. Sold also by all Booksellers in the United Kingdom, 1819. This is an anonymous pamphlet of 56 pages about the Peterloo Massacre, generally attributed to the Liverpool Mercury journalist, John Smith (fl.1819). However the earliest reference with the address at 87 Bartholomew Close, London (apart from the 1816 catalogue) are a series of advertisements in the back of *The Literary Panorama and National Register* volume 7, published by Simpkin and Marshall, 108 Hatton Garden, Holborn and Charles Taylor and dated 1818:

Books published by Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon. Liverpool Editions. Warehouses, Caxton, Liverpool; 87 Bartholomew Close, London; also in Birmingham, Leeds, Plymouth, Bristol, Glasgow, Dublin, Belfast and in every other town in the United Kingdom. The Trade supplied on the usual terms.

Among the publications listed are *Cruden's Concordance* at £2.5s. 0d. in boards or in 15 parts at 3 shillings each; *The Imperial Folio History of England* by Theophilus Camden in two folio volumes 'embellished with 88 fine engravings from the designs of those celebrated artists': Smirke, Burney, Uwins, Corbould and Benezart; engraved by Milton, Neagle, Warren, Anker Smith, Bromley, Audinet, Walker, Rhodes, Tagg, Corner and Hopwood. Complete: £4.6.0 or in parts 5 shillings each (the 1816 catalogue states 'to be completed in about seventeen parts, fifteen of which are already published'). Then follows a list of 'Works published by Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon at their warehouse 87 Bartholomew Close, London'. However this does not mean these works are separate from the production in Liverpool, merely that they are held at 87 Bartholomew Close. This is made clear at the end of the advertisement where it states:

The whole of the above valuable works from the Royal Caxton Press are well worthy the attention of the Public; and to ensure the possession of genuine copies, be careful to order the Liverpool or Caxton Editions. Printed by Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon, Caxton, Liverpool, Printers in Ordinary to His Majesty.

The 1818 adverts are just before the introduction of steel engraving so the second edition of *The Mechanic* by James Smith [fig. 55d] is advertised as being 'illustrated by 80 to 100 copper-plate engravings published in parts at 3 shillings each, 8 of which are now before the

public and the remainder in a forward state' (however the 1816 catalogue stated 'to be completed in about ten parts at 3s. each, six of which are already published'). The same author's *The Panorama of Science and Art* was published by the Caxton Press - Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon circa 1815 as the 1816 catalogue mentions it in two volumes, price £1.14s.6d in boards or in 14 parts at 2s.6d each ('to suit the convenience of the purchasers' in the John Johnson advert of c.1812) with 49 illustrative engravings by eminent artists. [fig. 55d]

After the Liverpool fire James Smith's *The Mechanic or compendium of practical inventions* (first published at Liverpool in 1816)⁴²⁶ was re-published in London in 1822 with 108 copper-plate engravings, at £1. 15s. in two volumes or in parts at 3s. each. The publishing line states: London, Caxton, Henry Fisher. Oliver Goldsmith's copiously illustrated 4 volume *A History of the Earth, and Animated Nature* was also printed in London by Henry Fisher at The Caxton Press and sold at 87, Bartholomew Close (1822).⁴²⁷

Self help and practical publications (as seen in 3.12) were continued after Fisher's move from Liverpool to London. *The Mechanic's Oracle or Artisan's Complete Laboratory and Workshop* was published in weekly numbers, 'illustrated by appropriate engravings', and cost 6d. or in monthly parts at 2s. each. It was advertised in the *Literary Gazette* 17 July 1824, no. 391, p. 463 without the name of the publisher, but the advertisement requested that all communications and drawings were to be sent to the Editors of the *Mechanic's Oracle* at 38 Newgate Street, which suggests it was a Fisher publication. The *Literary Gazette* for 1827 has an advertisement for *The Practical Cabinet Maker, Upholsterer and Complete Decorator* by Peter Nicholson and his son Michael Angelo Nicholson, in one volume, quarto size, priced £2. 2s. or available in parts at 5s. each. They were illustrated with 23 engraved geometrical plates and 81 decorative plates on 80 sheets which included 35 hand-coloured images from designs by his son, including elegant coloured illustrations of beds, bookcases, bed steps and chairs with the imprint on each plate published by Fisher, Son & Co, Caxton, London, 1826-27.⁴²⁸ Peter Nicholson (1765-1844) was a Scottish architect, mathematician and engineer. His practical books were also published by Thomas Kelly and George Virtue such as *The New Practical Builder and Workman's Companion* (Thomas Kelly, 1823),

⁴²⁶ Date from Albert J. Mott, *A chronological catalogue*, op.cit. number 229.

⁴²⁷ The Wellcome Library, London has a coloured engraving by T. Dixon (vol III p.341) of : 1. *The Common Whale*. 2. *The Dolphin*. 3. *The Porpoise*. Published by Henry Fisher, Caxton, London, 1824. See their website: <http://images.wellcome.ac.uk/indexplus> and for a full bibliographic record: <http://catalogue.wellcome.ac.uk/record> - however the image stands alone and no reference is made to Goldsmith's book.

⁴²⁸ For images see New York Public Library Digital Gallery at <http://digitalgallery.nypl.org>. Source: www.marlbroughbooks.com and ODNB (2004).

Practical Carpentry, Joinery and Cabinet-Making (Thomas Kelly, 1826) and *The Carpenter and Builder's Complete Measurer* (George Virtue, 1826). The same advertisement carries *The Carpenter, Joiner and Builder's Companion*, one volume, octavo size, priced 23s. or in parts at 3s per part. It was illustrated with 120 plates and was sold not only by Fisher, Son & Co, 38 Newgate Street, but by Simpkin and Marshall and by Sherwood and Co.⁴²⁹

Fisher also published a magazine called *The Bee*, a 'fireside companion'. The 24 issues were published as a volume by Henry Fisher, Caxton Press, London. The engraved frontispiece carries the date 1823 but Albert J. Mott lists in Liverpool a set of *The Bee* with a frontispiece dated 1820.⁴³⁰ Another edition of *The Self-Instructor* published H. Fisher, Son and Co, London and dated 1834, has, however, eight plates dated 1824-32. The text is unchanged but entirely re-set from earlier editions such as 1810. This may suggest that the stereotypes were lost in the fire at Liverpool in 1821.

Samuel Drew, who had started with Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon in Liverpool in 1819, now edited *The Imperial Magazine - a record of religious, philosophical, historical, biographical and general knowledge* from London. The *Literary Gazette* of 9 October 1819 advertised *The Imperial Magazine* with the publishing line: 'printed and published by Henry Fisher, Liverpool, published in London on the first day of every month at 87 Bartholomew Close'. After the fire of 1821 Drew moved to London. By May 1824 the address was changed to 38 Newgate Street, London.⁴³¹ The Magazine is listed as having been published as follows: Volumes 1-12, March 1819 to December 1830; and a second series (not listed in Copac), volumes 1-4, January 1831- December 1834. Samuel Drew died in March 1833 and the Magazine seems to finish just a year later.⁴³² Fisher briefly published another magazine called *The Investigator or Quarterly Magazine*, edited by Rev. W. B. Collyer, Rev. T. Raffles and James Baldwin Brown.⁴³³ This magazine had previously been published by T. and G. Underwood c. 1820-22 and had a short life of only four years 1820-24. Rev. William Bengo Collyer (1782-1854) was a dissenting evangelical pastor based in London and Rev. Thomas Raffles (1788-1863) was an independent minister (and first cousin of Sir Stanford Raffles)

⁴²⁹ *Literary Gazette*, 1 December 1827, no. 567, p. 782.

⁴³⁰ The National Library of Scotland has a set of *The Bee, a fireside companion and evening tales*, ref: NG 1593.6.2. Also see Albert J. Mott, *A chronological catalogue*, op.cit. number 284.

⁴³¹ *Literary Gazette*, May 1824, p. 303.

⁴³² The University of Minnesota listing - www.mh.cla.umn.edu/britper2.html.

⁴³³ Advertisements *Literary Gazette*, 4 January 1823, no. 311, p. 15 and 3 January 1824, no. 363, p. 15, in which it is mentioned 'no. XV being No. 1 of the new series', price 3s.

who spent most of his ministry in Liverpool. The magazine was published in January, April, July and October and cost 6 shillings.

3.23 Catholic Publications.

Fisher's connection with the Methodist movement did not, however, preclude him from publishing works of a Catholic nature. Indeed a large percentage of the Liverpool population was Catholic.^z The Bodleian 1816 catalogue lists *The Holy Catholic Bible* - 'this edition of Dr Challoner is publishing in Parts at 5s. each, embellished with forty fine engravings'. A second edition of the 'Douay' Bible: *The Holy Bible, translated from the Latin Vulgate; diligently compared with the Hebrew, Greek, and other editions in divers languages. The Old Testament, first published by the English College at Douay, A.D. 1609. And The New Testament, first published by the English College at Rheims, A.D. 1582 etc.* bears the imprint London: Printed at the Caxton Press, by Henry Fisher (Printer in Ordinary to his Majesty). Sold at No. 38 Newgate Street and by all the Booksellers of the United Kingdom. It is dated 1824 but it also states 'published with the approbation of the Right Reverend Dr. Gibson, vicar apostolic of the Northern District. Revised and corrected by the Rev. T. Robinson and the Rev. V. Glover of Liverpool'.

By the time of the third edition, published in 1829, all reference to Liverpool has gone and instead it states 'published with the approbation of the Right Reverend Dr Bramston, vicar apostolic of the London district'. Furthermore the publishing line has changed: London: Henry Fisher, Son, and P. Jackson, 38 Newgate Street. The original Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon edition of this Catholic Bible came out around 1815 and had been inspired by the appearance of the *Haydock Bible* published in serialized form between 1811-1814 which was the best known English Catholic edition of the nineteenth century. It seems that Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon saw an opportunity for a new market among Catholics. Their 'Douay' Bible was the same format as their King James' Bible which it was producing. The texts may have been different but significantly the same engraved illustrations could be used for both.⁴³⁴

3.24 Missionary Works.

In 1826 H. Fisher, Son and P. Jackson published *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii, or Owhyhee; with remarks on the history, traditions, manners, customs and languages of the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands* by William Ellis, missionary for the Society and

⁴³⁴ This information was brought to my attention by the following website: www.catholicculture.org.

Sandwich Islands. The book was also sold by Hatchard and Son; Seeley and Son; Hamilton, Adams and Co in London; Waugh and Innes, Edinburgh and Keene in Dublin. The *Literary Gazette* of 1827 advertises the 3rd edition as published by Fisher, Son & Co and sold by Simpkin and Marshall and Sherwood and Co.⁴³⁵

William Ellis (1794-1872), like many missionaries of the time, came from a very humble background; after being a market gardener he trained at the London Missionary Society (LMS), was ordained in 1815 and went out as a missionary for nine years to the South Sea Islands and Hawaii (1816-25). As a child his father had shown him an illustrated version of Captain Cook's *Voyages*⁴³⁶ and, less than a half century after Cook's search for a northern passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic which led to his discovery of the Sandwich Islands, William Ellis became a missionary to the South Seas and later to Madagascar. William Ellis and his second wife Sarah Stickney Ellis were to have a long connection with Fisher, Son & Co and Mrs Ellis became something of a celebrity with her moral conduct manuals for women and wrote extensively for the *Annals*. (For William Ellis see *Polynesian Researches* Chapter 5.3, and for Mrs Ellis, 5.18, 5.20 & 5.25).

3.25 Novel Publishing.

On 1 January 1824 H. Fisher, 38 Newgate Street (without Son & Co.) published a non-fiction book by James Scurry, *The Captivity, Sufferings and Escape of James Scurry*, relating his imprisonment by Tippoo Saib (sic). William Todd in his *Directory* states that in 1827 the Caxton Press: H. Fisher, Son and Co. published a novel by E. H. de St Pierre Jones (possibly a pseudonym) entitled *Rockavon*.⁴³⁷ Presumably Todd specifically mentions this book as being the first work he found in the London publishing output of H. Fisher, Son and Co. *Rockavon: A tale of the thirteenth century* was a 'three-decker novel', what James Raven terms as 'commercially safe' and he adds that 'the multi-volume and high price format of the three-decker (not finally abandoned until the mid-1890s) was artificially maintained by fiction publishers like Andrew Chatto and by several leading circulating libraries'.⁴³⁸ In 1828 Fisher advertised another triple decker novel entitled *The Rector of Overton* in the *Literary*

⁴³⁵ *Literary Gazette*, 1 December 1827, no. 567, p.783.

⁴³⁶ Alexander Hogg, 16 Paternoster Row advertised c. 1796, in the back of his edition of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Anderson's Folio edition of *Capt Cook's Voyages &c Round the World* 'with all the splendid large folio copper-plates, maps, charts &c, accurately copied from the originals. Now publishing Six-penny numbers, one or more of which may be had at a time; the whole intended to make a very large handsome volume in folio, price £2. 8s. bound'.

⁴³⁷ William B. Todd, *A Directory of Printers and others in allied trades, London and Vicinity 1800-1840* (London, 1972), op.cit p.69.

⁴³⁸ James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850* (New Haven and London, 2007), p.335.

Gazette.⁴³⁹ However, novel publishing was not the main direction that Henry Fisher was about to take.

Concluding Pointer.

1828 seems to mark a watershed in the career of H. Fisher, Son and Co. The era of publishing illustrated topographical publications with steel engravings was about to begin as will be seen in the next chapter. Timperley, writing in 1839, describes Fisher's subsequent output as 'splendidly illustrated works' and listed: *The English Lakes, Syria, Devonshire, Cornwall, Ireland, Lancashire etc.*, 'which have stamped him as the most extensive publisher of such works in the Kingdom'. This remark can be contrasted with Curwen's comment on George Virtue's illustrated publications of *Switzerland, Scotland, Palestine, the Nile and America*:

When Mr Virtue commenced these illustrated volumes, the Fine Art tastes of the public were in a very uneducated condition: but, selecting the best artists and employing the best engravers, he set a good example, which was speedily followed by others.⁴⁴⁰

However Curwen's comments were probably influenced by his knowledge of the later purchase by Virtue from Messrs Hodgson & Graves of *The Art Union* magazine and which became in 1849 *The Art Journal*. No doubt he had read the claims within the *Art Journal* of the number of engravings (both Steel and Wood) they had produced and particularly the claim that they alone had saved the jobs of many artists and engravers, who without the *Art Journal* patronage, would have wanted for work at a time when steel engraving was out of fashion.

Indeed the production of new illustrated topographical books (as opposed to reprints or reissues, see Appendix 3) by Fisher and Virtue had all but ceased in the mid 1840s at which time the two leading artists Allom and Bartlett were no longer associated with this type of production. One has to remember that Curwen was writing in the 1870s when steel engraving was no longer fashionable and other justifications were needed for the production of this type of art. The *Art Journal* had, by this time turned to wood illustrations and the newly developed photogravure. In 1883 the editor Samuel Carter Hall wrote:

I was the fifth person in England whose outer semblance was taken by the process of Daguerre. In 1847 Fox Talbot... gave me 7000 impressions to introduce into the *Art Journal*... all know what photographs, not only of the person but things, are now. They are permanent. There is hardly a place in the world that is not familiar to our eyes.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁹ *The Literary Gazette* 1828, p.408. The British Library has a copy, shelfmark: N.525.

⁴⁴⁰ Henry Curwen, *A History of Booksellers*, op. cit. p.375.

⁴⁴¹ Samuel Carter Hall, *Retrospect of a long life from 1815 to 1883* (London, 1883), p.5.

In 1839 Fox Talbot and Louis Daguerre announced the invention of photography. In 1844 Fox Talbot's *The Pencil of Nature* had the first photographs (24) or what Fox Talbot called a calotype in a book published by Longmans.⁴⁴² Calotypes are basically the production of negatives from which multiple copies could be made. However it was labour intensive and it took the rest of the century to find a cheap and fast method of printing photographs in newspapers.⁴⁴³

Steel engraved topographical works were published by Fisher in a short 15 year period. One wonders whether the 1821 warehouse fire in Liverpool was the catalyst for Fisher to remove his business to London or was this move and change in publishing direction inevitable? How Fisher organised this work is seen in the next chapter where his requirements for illustrations are spelt out in a series of letters to the Irish artist George Petrie, as well as looking at Fisher's methods in promotion, subscription, use of reprints, printing, binding and foreign sales.

⁴⁴² Asa Briggs, *A History of Longmans*, op. cit. appendix 2, p.547.

⁴⁴³ See a summary by David McKitterick in the *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Cambridge, 2009), pp52-54 and by Michael Twyman p.129 ff.

CHAPTER FOUR

EMBELLISHED TOPOGRAPHY AND EXTENDED SALE

4.1 *Ireland Illustrated*: The Letters of Robert Fisher to George Petrie (15 August 1828 - 4 April 1829).⁴⁴⁴

These letters concern, as G. N. Wright put it, 'this speculation of Fisher's',⁴⁴⁵ in other words *Ireland Illustrated* (Fisher, 1831). This series of letters provide a unique, early insight into the working methods of Fisher, Son and Co concerning their requirements, such as: designs for engraving, the choice of subject matter, the format to be used, the selection of writers, artists and engravers and their conditions of employment, their fear of competition, the need for secrecy, the need for the rapid execution of the designs and also what the publishers admired, approved or disliked in the rival publications. Of particular interest is the detailing of how a work was financed by the publishers.

The first of the eleven letters from Fisher, Son and Co. to the Irish artist George Petrie was sent from their offices at 38 Newgate Street, London and is dated 15 August, 1828:⁴⁴⁶

Letter One:

Sir,

Mr John Greig has mentioned your name... as having taken a number of Views throughout different parts of Ireland from a work entitled *Excursions in Ireland* which he was getting up. Having become the purchasers of that work, we address you to enquire whether you are at liberty to engage in taking a series of Views for us in Dublin and other parts of Ireland, and if at liberty whether you would be willing and could commence immediately. Also in case of our wanting it whether you would be willing to engage for a similar purpose in parts of England or elsewhere as might be deemed adviseable.

You have most likely seen Jones's *Views of London Buildings*, would such a style of Drawings be in your line?⁴⁴⁷

An early answer to the above Questions with all particulars as to In the event of an arrangement....

Perhaps you would not object to make a Drawing of some new Public Building on the Plan (and size) of Jones's *Views* and from and for our inspection.

Fisher, Son & Co.

⁴⁴⁴ I have transcribed all the Letters from Robert Fisher to George Petrie in Appendix 4. The Letters form part of Petrie's correspondence kept at the National Library of Ireland. Extracts from these letters were published in the catalogue to an exhibition on George Petrie at Crawford Municipal Gallery, Cork in 2004 by Peter Murray entitled *George Petrie (1790-1866) - The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past* (Cork, 2004).

⁴⁴⁵ Letter from G. N. Wright to George Petrie, NLI MS. 794 no. 692 dated 29 September 1828.

⁴⁴⁶ National Library of Ireland MS. 790 no. 190.

⁴⁴⁷ The first monthly number of *Metropolitan Improvements* came out around June 1827. See Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated*, op. cit. p. 370.

From inspection of the handwriting and later autograph signatures it seems clear that all of the letters to Petrie were written by Robert Fisher, who, on leaving Cambridge University, was made a partner in 1825. As Peter Murray points out the tone of the letters are brisk and to the point.⁴⁴⁸ John Greig, who had recommended Petrie to Fisher, was an engraver from Islington in London. He had been the chief engraver of Thomas Kitson Cromwell's *Excursions through Ireland: comprising Topographical and Historical delineations, together with descriptions of the Residences of the Nobility and Gentry, Remains of Antiquity, and every other object of interest or curiosity forming a complete guide for the Traveller and the Tourist*. Published in three volumes by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, Paternoster Row, London. The publication date states 1820 (volume II) but the plates, as pointed out by Peter Murray, range in date from 1 July 1819 to 1 October 1821.⁴⁴⁹ The publication had been originally issued in numbers from 1820.⁴⁵⁰

According to Murray, Petrie had provided 97 designs out of the 121 engravings for *Excursions through Ireland*. So Greig would have known Petrie quite well. Indeed there is evidence that Greig had, in the past, owed Petrie money, about £100, part of the payment for his drawings for *Excursions through Ireland*.⁴⁵¹ Therefore Greig was perhaps repaying a moral debt by recommending Petrie to Fisher. However I take issue with the plates for *Excursions through Ireland* being engraved on steel.⁴⁵² First the date is too early; the first successful steel plate was not produced until 1822.⁴⁵³ Second, they have the look of copper engravings, with a warm feel to them not the silvery glint of steel. Third, Greig's assistant on this work, Thomas Higham (1795-1844) who was apprenticed to John Greig, only started engraving on steel in the late 1820s for Thomas Hosmer Shepherd and James Elmes's *Metropolitan Improvements* (1827-29) which Robert Fisher refers to in the letter as *Jones's Views of London Buildings*, Jones & Co, Temple of the Muses, Finsbury being the publisher.⁴⁵⁴ Fourth, according to Holloway, the first steel engravings produced by Greig for a

⁴⁴⁸ Peter Murray, *George Petrie (1790-1866) - The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, Exhibition Catalogue Crawford Municipal Gallery (Cork, Ireland, 2004), p. 65.

⁴⁴⁹ Peter Murray, op.cit. p. 55.

⁴⁵⁰ see Copac entry for *Excursions through Ireland*.

⁴⁵¹ Letter from John Greig to George Petrie, National Library of Ireland MS. 791 no.213, mentioned by Peter Murray op.cit. p.57 and reproduced in Appendix 4.

⁴⁵² Peter Murray, op. cit. p.55.

⁴⁵³ See Holloway, *Bibliography*, op. cit. p.vi and Hunnisett, *Steel Engraved Book Illustration in England*, op cit. p. 30, states that the first illustration which can be positively identified as a steel engraving was Warren's engraving after Thomas Uwins of *Adam and Eve with the Archangel after the Fall*, to illustrate an edition of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, published by F.C. and J. Rivington in 1822.

⁴⁵⁴ T.H. Shepherd, *Metropolitan Improvements; or London in the nineteenth century : displayed in a series of Engravings of new Buildings, Improvements, &c.* (Jones & Co. Temple of the Muses, London, 1827-29), see for example Higham's steel engravings of *the Suspension Bridge over the Thames at Hammersmith* (no. 104 in Holloway, op.cit. p. 149) and *New London Bridge, with the Lord Mayor's Procession*

work by T.K Cromwell (1792-1870) were in 1825 for Cromwell's *History and Description of the ancient Town and Borough of Colchester in Essex*. Published for the Proprietors, P. Youngman and John Greig, by Robert Jennings, Poultry and Swinborne and Walter, Colchester.⁴⁵⁵

Letter Two.

One month later Robert Fisher writes to Petrie on 17 September, 1828 (NLI, MS. 790, no. 191) in some haste and urges Petrie to do his utmost and to produce some drawings; at the same time he confirms that he has met with Reverend George Newenham Wright (1790-1877).⁴⁵⁶ It seems that Petrie had recommended Wright to Fisher. This was the beginning of a long collaboration between the author and the publishing house with at least ten illustrated picture books over the next fifteen years. Petrie had provided topographical drawings for a number of G. N. Wright's Guides to Ireland including: *Historical Guide to Ancient and Modern Dublin* (London, 1821); *Guide to the Giant's Causeway*; *Guide to Wicklow* and *Guide to Killarney* published by Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, London. All are dated 1823 and which the *ODNB* entry dismisses as 'several guide books... of little value'). However, Peter Murray says that 'the engravings to the guides are amongst the finest that were made of Petrie's works. The lines graven in the copper plates preserve almost exactly the light tonality and feeling of airiness characteristic of Petrie's watercolours'.⁴⁵⁷ The engravers included Thomas Higham, George Cooke and Thomas Barber.⁴⁵⁸

Letter Three.

Fisher's third letter (MS. 791 no. 192) was written the next day on 18 September, 1828 and sets out 'The Peculiarities of our Business'. This is a key letter to understanding the business practices of Fisher, Son and Co. and it is reproduced in full:

38 Newgate Street, London
September 18th, 1828

Dear Sir

passing under the unfinished arches. Nov.9, 1827 (no.105 in Holloway, op. cit. p.149). For Thomas Higham see article by Gillian Forrester, *ODNB*/13244 (Oxford, 2004).

⁴⁵⁵ see Holloway, *Bibliography*, op.cit. no.50, pp. 58-59.

⁴⁵⁶ Peter Murray op.cit. p.62 refers to Wright as George Newham Wright, but I follow the *ODNB*'s spelling as Newenham. (*ODNB*/30032).

⁴⁵⁷ Peter Murray, op. cit. p.63.

⁴⁵⁸ See Letter from George Cooke to Petrie NLI. MS. 790. no.128 in Appendix 4. Later Thomas Barber (fl.1825-38) 'boggled at' doing the *Interior of the Church of the Carmelite Friary for Ireland Illustrated* even when Fisher offered him 18 guineas to do it (source Peter Murray op. cit. p. 70). Barber did engravings for several of Fisher's works including: *Views in the Tyrol* (1833), *The Counties of Chester, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln and Rutland Illustrated* (1836), *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated* (1838) and *Scotland Illustrated* for George Virtue (1838). But Barber had also worked with John Greig on T. K. Cromwell's *Colchester* in 1825. Barber also did many engravings for Shepherd's and Jones's publications including: *Bath and Bristol* (1829); *London and its Environs* (1829); *Metropolitan Improvements* (1829) and *Modern Athens* (1829).

The enclosed notice will convince you our fears as to a rival work were not groundless.⁴⁵⁹ We are sure it will not slacken your exertions and interest. They do not pay above half what we have agreed to give you for Drawings, and if forestalled, it will be a most disastrous speculation for us, but we feel every confidence on your best interest being used to progress our work, especially as we are now agreed with Mr Wright and must proceed on.⁴⁶⁰

We have again canvassed the shares in all points [?] and the same difficulties occur owing to the peculiar nature of our business and the prices we are obliged to sell at, looking for a remuneration of our risk and expenses in an extended sale alone. We have however two plans to propose which appear the only ways to us of arranging it as to give ultimate satisfaction and avoid ultimate disputes and litigation.

First:

It will take 5000 impressions of each number to pay the current expenses of each number - this is a calculation of Mr Fisher senior⁴⁶¹ - in order therefore to give you an interested anxiety in the work we will guarantee to pay you two Guineas per Number upon every 1000 copies sold of any number after the first 5000 - if the sale should be considerable this will amount to a very handsome sum, without any risk on your part. Our Paper book would give the quantities of each number printed and of course it would be presumed that the 1000 were sold when another 1000 was ordered to be re-printed.

Secondly:

A sixth share as follows which is the only plan that we can suggest as likely to give ultimate satisfaction to you or ourselves. We are, as you know, Letter-Press and Copper-Plate Printers⁴⁶² and should therefore of course compose and print the Letter- Press and Plates ourselves, on the same terms, that, if given out to another respectable House, would be charged by it and which if necessary we shall at any time be willing to submit to the opinion of a respectable House. Paper we should buy on the best terms we could. The Engraving of the Plates would be the same as we have agreed to give Mr R. Wallis for our Lancashire Work.⁴⁶³ The Folding and Stitching done by ourselves at the same price as we should pay were it given out. These expenses would be debited against the work and to its credit we should propose that all the Numbers printed be invoiced to us at expense for what the public pay 1/- (One shilling) i.e. half whatever was paid by the public for the work. This might appear somewhat low to you, but as we stated above, there is a peculiarity in our business which makes this proposition the only one that could possibly be brought to success [?]. And there are 5 or 6 items which though regularly charged by the Booksellers would be entirely borne by ourselves in order to simplify the thing - and which would bring the price down to very nearly if not quite what we have proposed :

1. 10 % Commission as Agents beyond the 25% as Booksellers
2. The 25th of each number (where 25 or more are taken), which are allowed to the Trade
3. Advertisements which will be something considerable
4. Bills and Prospectuses
5. The Circulation of our own Catalogue to the amount of about a Million yearly
6. A most important point indeed , you will have to run no risks of failures, bad debts etc, etc, - as we shall pay the expense per number whether we lose all or none.

You will still be paid for the Drawings as was mentioned before - viz £4 and 6 India Impressions of the work - Drawing payment one month after the drawings are approved. Mr Wright is to have 5

⁴⁵⁹ T. H. Shepherd, who in conjunction with Jones and Co. was in the process of publishing c. 1827-30: *Bath and Bristol; London and its Environs; Metropolitan Improvements; and Modern Athens*. According to Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated* (1983) p. 369 an advertisement in a part work of *Metropolitan Improvements*, dated 13 September 1828, promised a work on Dublin. It seems Shepherd may have planned something on Dublin but abandoned it after Fisher's publication was in its early stages.

⁴⁶⁰ G. N. Wright, the author of *Ireland Illustrated*.

⁴⁶¹ Henry Fisher (1781-1837).

⁴⁶² No mention of Steel- Plates - this was not unusual. It took time for the new process to be fully acknowledged even by the printers themselves. For example a Fire Insurance Policy (Sun Fire Office) for Fisher, Son & Co dated 19 January 1831 stated they were 'Letter Press and Copper Plate Printers' (Guildhall Library, Ms. 11936/524/1119423) and it was only in 1835 that one finds a similar Insurance document with more up to date information: Henry Fisher & Co, 15 Owen's Row, Goswell Street Road, Letter-Press Printers, Stereo-Type founders, Bookbinders, Engravers and Steel and Copper-Plate Printers (Guildhall Library, Ms. 11936/541/1194198 - dated 29 January 1835)

⁴⁶³ Robert William Wallis (1794-1878), one of three brothers, all engravers (Henry and William) who was trained by his father Thomas Wallis (died 1839, who had himself been an assistant to Charles Heath). Robert Wallis had first used steel in 1825 on an engraving *Cascades of Gavarrie* after J. Hardy published in Ackermann's *Forget-Me-Not*. He also engraved 12 plates after J.M.W. Turner for the *Picturesque Views in England and Wales* series (1827-38) and for Rogers's *Italy* (1830) and Turner's *Annual Tour or Rivers of France* (1833-35). He was chief engraver for a number of Virtue's publications including *Switzerland Illustrated* (1836) and *Scotland Illustrated* (1838).

Guineas per sheet for editing - this is one of the items to be charged against the work of course. By the way I have forgotten to say that the 1st and 2nd Numbers must be charged as one only, that being one of the peculiarities of our Business,- to give them as one. Before concluding we refer you again to the enclosed notice of Mr Shepherd - unless we can come out before them we had better not... on the work at all. Best if you will let us have 3 Drawings per week for the next 4 weeks and 2 per week after, we shall not fear and let them be forwarded by mail the moment they are finished- two or even one at a time.

We... also to say that if after the publication of... th number you feel inclined to... from the share, you shall be at liberty to do... whatever may be the ... undertaking - you agreeing of course to supply us with Drawings to complete it on the terms already specified. *[This paragraph has a large inkspot over it making it difficult to decipher]*

The matter is now fully before you and we wait your answer and we hope some Drawings with it.

Mr Wright requested a list of the Plates likely to be given and suggested the giving a subject on which there is much Letter Press likely to be required and one with little to go together in order that the descriptions and plates may fall together as equally as possible.⁴⁶⁴

Yours Truly

Fisher, Son & Co.

This is a most fascinating letter setting out the trade practices of the time. Petrie was being offered a modified commission agreement. Petrie had to choose between taking, two guineas for each 1000 copies sold, after the expenses have been covered by the sale of the first 5,000, or a sixth share of the profits after the expenses have been taken into account. He is guaranteed a fixed payment of £4 per drawing. In a later letter we learn that the engravers were paid £10 to £12 per drawing.⁴⁶⁵ These figures can be compared to the payments made to Turner and his engravers for Heath's *Picturesque Views in England and Wales* (started 1827) where Turner is paid an average of £25-30 per drawing and the engravers received £100 per plate.⁴⁶⁶ John Murray II paid £10 for drawings and £20 for engravings.⁴⁶⁷ Other publishers like Longmans offered a half profits agreement where the bookseller underwrote the costs such as paper, printing, advertising etc and then gave the author half profits, *as calculated* by the bookseller, or, royalties after a fixed number of books had been sold. As James Raven points out the system is open to accounting abuse, since Petrie could have little idea as to the real costs involved.⁴⁶⁸ Asa Briggs in his *History of Longmans* (2008) mentions that when a

⁴⁶⁴ Similarly, in a letter to Dr Beattie, written c.1840-42, the artist W. H. Bartlett asks for a list: *as Virtue wishes me to select some subjects for cuts, could you favour me with the list of subjects as the sketches will stand in your description because those first wanted must be of course put in hand first*. A detail which went beyond the ken of Petrie and shows the professionalism of Bartlett. In William Beattie Collection, Holborn ST2/1B/27 Box of MSS A/48.

⁴⁶⁵ MS. 791 no 193.

⁴⁶⁶ Eric Shanes's estimate of costs, in *Turner's Picturesque Views*, op. cit, p.15 and note 35.

⁴⁶⁷ See Humphrey Carpenter, *The seven Lives of John Murray* (London, 2008), p.123.

⁴⁶⁸ James Raven op. cit, pp 333-34.

book was projected the cost of paper was calculated first, followed by the costs of printing, and illustrating.⁴⁶⁹

Robert Fisher talks about the company and not Petrie taking the risk of publishing, but really the system was a kind of risk management. The part-work system spread both production and purchasing costs over an extended period. But at the same time it put pressure on the artists, engravers and authors to deliver on time. Where Fisher and Co. succeeded was its expertise in the numbers trade. It is important to note that Mr Fisher senior did the calculations. He had learnt in his days with Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon how to manage risk, the implementation of new publication formats such as publishing in parts and the importance of distribution, commission payments to agents and booksellers, advertising and the use of prospectuses and company catalogues. One million catalogues yearly seems an extraordinarily large amount. These catalogues were not necessarily stand-alone and of course they would have been bound into the back of many of Fishers' books. An owner of a set of Fisher's publications might therefore have several copies. Bound into the back of Fisher's *The Christian Keepsake and Missionary Annual*, 1838 is an example of a catalogue: *New Works, and New Editions, published this day by Fisher, Son & Co., London & Paris*. It consists of 55 works and includes a list of prints on ten pages. This is probably the sort of catalogue Robert Fisher is talking about. It is bound into this book but could quite easily be issued as a stand alone brochure. Advertisements for part-works and other Fisher publications regularly appear in the magazines of the period. It also helped keep costs down if these magazines were owned by Fisher, Son & Co., such as *The Imperial Magazine*. For example in the *Imperial Magazine* volume II, 2nd series, 1832 one finds the following:

In One Volume Quarto containing 145 engravings elegantly half-bound *Devon and Cornwall Illustrated* from original Drawings by Thomas Allom with Historical and Topographical descriptions by J. Britton and E. W. Brayley AND Part One of *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* from original Drawings by Thomas Allom containing 17 Engravings⁴⁷⁰

Fisher also includes some hints as to what he expects as subject matter from Petrie. He tells Petrie that these hints 'have been suggested to us for our Lancashire Work' and that they will equally suit Dublin. One of the most commercially driven is to:

In street views, where practicable, give the names distinctly, over various shops - it interests the parties in the work. A detailed list of these to be made fully out, for the Publishers and Editors inspection and mutual communication with each other⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁹ Asa Briggs, op. cit, p. 216.

⁴⁷⁰ *Imperial Magazine* edited Samuel Drew, vol II, 2nd series, H. Fisher, R. Fisher & P. Jackson, Newgate Street (London, 1832), p. 344.

⁴⁷¹ MS. 791 no. 196 October 24, 1828.

There are enough examples of this to realize that this was standard practice. *Metropolitan Improvements or London in the Nineteenth Century* has numerous examples of plugs for *London in the Nineteenth Century* either held by placard boys (*Burlington Arcade, Piccadilly*) or written on walls and buildings (*East Front of the Bank of England* and *Temple of the Muses, Finsbury Square*) throughout the work. A pencil note by Allom of an unidentified town in the Lake District has the following names jotted down: John Coward, Grocer, Salutation Hall - Stalkers, Post Office, Danl. Donaldson, Salt Salmon.⁴⁷² In the engraving *Warrington Market Place, Lancashire* by T. Dixon after Thomas Allom in Baines' *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster* published by Fisher in 1836, the signs are clearly shown and the two pubs have the names of the proprietors: Barley Mow - G. Gerrard and Leigh Arms - T. Higginson. Another example is *Truro, Cornwall* engraved by F. J. Havell after Thomas Allom in *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* where, on the left of a house in the street view, is clearly marked John Cock, plumber-brazier, and on the right side of the street: Waterloo House, Mercer and Draper; the shop next door marked Courtney and the Red Lion Hotel - proprietor J. Stevens. [fig. 61] *Market Place, Nottingham* engraved by S. Bradshaw after Thomas Allom, from Noble and Rose's *The Counties of Chester, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln and Rutland Illustrated* published by Fisher, 1836, has a cart in the right foreground with Fox Bleach, Basford and a building just beyond it with Dunn's Printing Office.

In a later letter to Petrie, Robert Fisher states that they needed at least twelve drawings as they could not establish a work under three numbers. *Ireland Illustrated* was issued as a part-work with 4 Views per part at a cost of one shilling per part issue.⁴⁷³ This practice of launching a part-work is echoed 12 years later in a letter dated May 1840 from W.H. Bartlett to the author William Beattie about George Virtue who is engaged on the part-publication of *The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland Illustrated* from drawings by W.H. Bartlett and letterpress by N. P. Willis and J. Stirling Coyne:

My Dear Doctor,

.... I seriously believe that you have misunderstood Virtue as regards *Sicily* [presumably a topographical book project]. I have spoken [to him] since I saw you about it and it appears to me that he will really undertake [sic] it though not immediately. He is anxious to wait until No 3 of *Ireland* has appeared when he will be better able to decide from the success of that work and if it does succeed it will induce him probably to proceed with spirit in anything else.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷² Seen at Abbott and Holder, London on 25 September 2010.

⁴⁷³ Advert in the *Literary Gazette* for 1830, p.197.

⁴⁷⁴ William Beattie Collection, Holborn, ST2/1B/27 Box of MSS (A/47).

In 1828 Robert Fisher hoped that the superior engravings for his *Ireland Illustrated* will 'push the competition out of reach'.⁴⁷⁵ In these letters he is constantly urging Petrie to produce more lively drawings with 'a good deal of bustle', he asks if he has seen the whole of Jones's *London*, and he worries that G. N. Wright had misunderstood the nature of the whole enterprise, as Fisher no longer wants 'Antiquity' but 'more modern Public Buildings etc. that is our chief aim - in fact Improvements' - here he consciously uses the title of Jones's work *Metropolitan Improvements*. Indeed the full title of *Ireland Illustrated* gives the comprehensive nature of the enterprise: *Ireland Illustrated, in a series of views of cities, towns, public buildings, streets, docks, churches, antiquities, abbeys, towers, castles, seats of the nobility etc, etc*. As far as Fisher is concerned the most important feature of the drawing is a close up of the *Building* (my italics) for example Shepherd and Jones's *Banqueting House, Whitehall* [fig. 62] and he again refers Petrie to part issues numbers 9 and 15 of Jones's work:

I think also you do not give the Building large enough for the kind of work ours is meant to be- a work of Public Buildings ... given in a broad and bold style showing the Architecture clear and distinctly... but plenty of horses, carriages, Coaches etc. *Jennings's Paris* is niggling and diminutive.⁴⁷⁶

Here Fisher is referring to *Paris and its Environs, displayed in a series of Picturesque Views* published between 1828-31.⁴⁷⁷ Auguste Charles de Pugin the elder (1762-1832) directed the publication and the engravings were made under the superintendence of Charles Heath. There are two images per page and each engraving measures approximately 3 ½ x 5 ½ inches (90 x 140mm). [figs. 63, 64 and 65]. An advertisement in the *Landscape Annual* of 1834 tells us that the publication cost £10,000. It was published by Robert Jennings in two volumes with two hundred picturesque views and cost £3. 3s. The advert continues:

The publishers beg to announce that, after an outlay of £10,000 they have completed this important work, which has been during these last Four years in course of publication, and which, in anticipation of an extensive sale, has been offered at a price very much below that of productions of equal excellence. It is presumed that this work, embracing, with all the public buildings and other objects of note, many of the scenes in which the stirring events of July 1830 were acted, cannot fail to be peculiarly and permanently interesting⁴⁷⁸

The preliminary watercolours drawings are by Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-52), Thomas Talbot Bury (1811-77), Benjamin Ferry (1810-80), William Lake Price (1810-91) and Thomas Kearnan (fl.1821-51). The watercolours are twice the size of the engravings and are in full colour. Some drawings were squared as a guide to the engravers so they could scale

⁴⁷⁵ MS. 791 no. 193 September 30, 1828.

⁴⁷⁶ MS. 791 no. 195.

⁴⁷⁷ L.T. Ventouillac wrote the descriptions but it is generally referred to as *Jennings's* or *Pugin's Paris*. The 1835 Catalogue of the book seller C. Davis, 48, Coleman Street, near the Bank, no.762 refers to it as: *Pugin's and Heath's Paris and its Environs*. In November 1835 he advertised a 2 vol. set, folio, half morocco, gilt top for £3. 3 s. and also sells a 2 vol quarto India Proofs, complete in the original parts at £1. 15 s. and in brackets gives the original published price of £5. 2 s.

⁴⁷⁸ William Drummond in his Spring Exhibition of April 2-25, 1981 exhibited 87 original preliminary watercolour views designed for the engravings.

the views down to the required size. This is precisely what Robert Fisher and his engravers objected to and criticized George Petrie for not making the drawings the same size as the intended steel engraved plates. In a letter to Petrie he says they cannot compete and produce engravings equal to Jones's or Westall's *Great Britain Illustrated* (published by Charles Tilt) as:

The Drawings must be finished exactly, as they are to appear when engraved and nothing left for the Engraver to make out. Shepherd will not allow any alteration in his in effect or architecture. If yours were for Pictures merely, they would be [do?] admirably [sic]. Engraving is much altered to what it was 3 or 4 or some years' ago, when they had to go begging for work, then they had time to find inclination to attend to making out the Drawings. Now they will not. Your figures are infinitely better than Shepherds, but from the slight manner in which they are finished, are lost in the Engravings. All make the same complaints as to your Drawings, beautifully outlined 'milk and water' effects. Barber, Higham, Goodall, Winkles, Brewer etc, etc. As to the Skies do take our advice and make them quiet as possible with a light flickering cloud or two hovering about. This in a general way would add much to the Engravings.... It is Advizeable: That the Drawings are made the exact size they are to be engraved and with the effect the engraver is to produce - with detached parts on separate paper on a larger scale - (when needful)- and only use two colours.⁴⁷⁹

Two months later in April 1829 Fisher writes the last of the surviving letters to Petrie. It is not complimentary and complains of his slight, unfinished and sketchy drawings. Fisher doubts 'much the propriety of using two of the King's Bridges and also the old ones such as Strongbow's Monument... and several others of doubtful character, when the title of our book is taken into account'. In the event these designs were all engraved. The engravers are tired of being 'Humbled' and 'turn up the nose about our "promise of Dublin Drawings", "Trust the Wind" say they "as soon as Mr Petrie!" and he ends the letter by stating 'Milk and Watery Ghosts they [the engravers] don't understand'.⁴⁸⁰ Petrie's involvement with *Ireland Illustrated* must have ended shortly thereafter sometime in 1829. Petrie contributed 24 designs [figs. 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75 and 76] and the young W. H. Bartlett made 33 designs out of the total of 80 steel engravings.

A contemporary reaction to Fisher's *Ireland Illustrated* was a lengthy review written in the *Dublin Literary Gazette* for Saturday 20 February 1830.⁴⁸¹ The article begins by praising the invention of engraving on steel, stating that ten years previously copper-plate engravings in books were prohibitively expensive but now the hardening process of steel allows from ten to twelve thousand impressions to be taken 'without any material alteration to the clearness and

⁴⁷⁹ NLI MS. 791 no. 199, 10 February 1829. *Westall and Tilt's* is a reference to *Great Britain Illustrated: a series of original Views from Drawings by William Westall, ARA. Engraved by, and under the Direction of, Edward Finden, with descriptions by Thomas Moule*. Published Charles Tilt (London, 1830).

⁴⁸⁰ NLI MS. 790 no. 189, 4 April 1829.

⁴⁸¹ *Dublin Literary Gazette*, 20 February 1830, no. 8, p. 122. This short-lived publication (January to June 1830) was edited by Charles Lever (1806-1872), a largely forgotten Irish comic novelist, sixteen of whose novels were illustrated by Hablot Browne (who illustrated ten of Dickens's novels).

brilliancy of the prints'. The writer states he has been led into these observations by the inspection of the two parts already published of the *Illustrations of Ireland* which 'is sold too at a price that places it within the reach of all. Four Views with letterpress descriptions cost but one shilling, though formerly they could hardly have been procured for six times that sum'. Out of the thirty-three drawings for the first eight numbers, twenty-three were by George Petrie and 'if Ireland is proud of Moore as her poet, she may well rejoice in Petrie as her artist'.

Whilst the reviewer gives some praise, 'the architectural views in the city are chosen with taste and are enlivened with a great variety of figures in which Mr Petrie is particularly happy' and the views 'give an accurate representation of our great city as it is seen daily' (thus vindicating Robert Fisher's directions to Petrie to make the views more lively and like Jones's *Metropolitan Improvements*), the second part of the article does criticise certain aspects of the publication. The reviewer criticises the general view of *Dublin from Blaquiery Bridge* whilst admitting it is not easy to obtain a good general view of Dublin. Although he approves of the views of *College Street* [fig. 68], the *Post Office* and the great courtyard of *Dublin Castle* in part one and those of the *Bank* and *Royal Exchange* in part two, he thinks the two views of the *King's Bridge* [fig. 66] unnecessary. He likes the interior view of the *Carmelite Friary* [fig. 71] and Kirchoffer's drawing of the *Poula Phuca Waterfall* in County Wicklow but criticizes those drawings by Austin. The reviewer thought the text by Rev. G. N. Wright was 'poor indeed, destitute alike of taste and accuracy, and reflecting anything but credit on the compiler. We observe too that Mr. Wright styles himself as a Royal Hibernian Academician, which unless we have been altogether misinformed as to the rules of that body, cannot be the case, as he is certainly not an artist'.

The *Dublin Literary Gazette* offices were at 10 D'Olier Street, Dublin and at number 9 D'Olier Street were the premises of the bookseller and publisher W.F. Wakeman. *Ireland Illustrated* was sold by Wakeman and one finds that in 1831 Wakeman published *Dublin delineated in twenty six views of the principal public buildings* with the same illustrations by Petrie but with no acknowledgement of the author nor the original publisher Fisher, Son & Co. According to Deirdre Ellis-King 'it was a luxury publication aimed at the connoisseur. The price of eight shillings and sixpence put it within the range of very few readers, yet its

popularity was such that it went into several editions between 1831 and 1843'.⁴⁸² Wakeman also sold Fisher's *National Portrait Gallery of illustrations of eminent personages of the nineteenth century* by William Jerdan and Jennings's *Paris*.

4.2 Promoting Fisher's Picturesque Illustrations: catalogues, subscriptions and advertisements.

In the absence of any archival records for Fisher, Son & Co it is impossible to gauge how much money went into the promotion of their publications. However we know from Robert Fisher's letter to George Petrie that about one million of Fisher's catalogues⁴⁸³ were circulated annually, advertisements were 'considerable' and that they used bills and prospectuses. In the case of *Ireland Illustrated* the prospectus was written by G. N. Wright, corrected and published in London and then sent out to the booksellers. Fisher sent 'a number of small parcels' containing prospectuses of the work and asked him to arrange delivery to the Dublin booksellers.⁴⁸⁴ In one of the advertisements for *Ireland Illustrated* which appeared in the *Literary Gazette*, number 687, for Saturday March 20, 1830 it mentioned: 'Agents wanted in the principal Towns of Ireland: Apply to Fisher & Co'.⁴⁸⁵ Fisher advertised *Ireland Illustrated* in the back of volume II of W. Ellis's *Polynesian Researches* (Fisher, 1832), 'in one vol. quarto, containing 81 Views, price 21s. and in Parts, containing 8 Views, price 4s'. and added a favourable review from *Saunders' News Letter*:

We know not what its sale may be, but if at all equal to its merits, it has a place upon the table of every house in Ireland. We sincerely trust this spirited effort to spread a knowledge of the beauties of our native Isle, will meet the encouragement it deserves and ought to find.

Lancashire Illustrated was similarly advertised in the same book in '1 vol quarto, containing 105 Views, Price 27s... and in Parts at 4s'. *Devon and Cornwall Illustrated* - 'In Parts, each containing Eight Views, price 4s; India Proofs, 8s each'. This seems a little confusing as the earlier part works were priced at one shilling with four engravings. However on the cover of a Specimen part-work copy of *Lancashire Illustrated* the plan of publication explains that 'each number will contain four views... price 1s. per number... parts, containing four numbers and 16 engravings' are 4s. [fig. 77]. The back covers of Fisher's part-works were an ideal vehicle to advertise current or up-coming publications. The back cover of the specimen copy of *Lancashire Illustrated*, dated 1830, promotes *Lancashire Illustrated*, *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* and *Ireland Illustrated* with the comment that 'The above three works

⁴⁸² Deirdre Ellis-King, preface to the reprint of *Dublin Delineated* (Dublin, 2006).

⁴⁸³ See supra for the ten page catalogue bound into the back of *The Christian Keepsake*, 1838.

⁴⁸⁴ MS. 791 no. 198 15 November 1828.

⁴⁸⁵ *Literary Gazette*, no. 687, Saturday 20 March, 1830, p. 197.

form part of the general series of *Fisher's Grand National Improvements and Jones's Great Britain Illustrated* (see Chapter 5, p.179 for a further look at the reasons for this). The inclusion on the back cover of the specimen *Lancashire Illustrated* of an advert for the same work clearly suggests that these adverts were interchangeable and used for the covers of all three works [fig. 78].

It is therefore by looking at the surviving publications and particularly at any advertisements found in the books themselves or the periodicals of the time ⁴⁸⁶ that one can gain some idea of how Fisher, Son & Co promoted their publications. The language used in the advertisements, though somewhat turgid and laboured for twenty-first-century tastes, conveys a good deal of useful information including prices and the size of the publication. The method of distribution of the part-works, or of the completed book, is more difficult to discover. The advertisements often give the principal booksellers in London who stock the book. For example *Ireland Illustrated* was available at Fisher, Son & Co, Newgate; Ackermann, Strand and Colnaghi and Co, Pall Mall East. Fisher's *National Portrait Gallery*, edited by William Jerdan, (who was also editor of the *Literary Gazette*), was sold by Fisher, Son & Co; Colnaghi and Co; Moon, Boys and Graves; Whittaker, Treacher & Co and at Simpkin and Marshall. Captain Robert Elliot's *Views in the East* was distributed by Fisher, Son & Co; Moon, Boys and Graves; Colnaghi and Co and 'all booksellers'. A later advertisement for *Views in the East* adds the following booksellers: Ackermann; Simpkin and Marshall; Jennings and Chaplin and Charles Tilt.⁴⁸⁷ Simpkin and Marshall were wholesale publishers and booksellers supplying, as Curwen says, 'everyone with books'.⁴⁸⁸ The founder was Crosby (died 1815) who travelled throughout the country to solicit orders. His assistants were Simpkin and Marshall. They bought publishers stock at trade sales and acted as middlemen on commission. They acted as London agents for provincial booksellers. In 1837 when Baldwin and Cradock failed, their country business went to Simpkin and Marshall. Curwen points out that none of the provincial booksellers had more than one London agent, by him they were supplied with books and periodicals from all the London publishers. William St Clair indicates that there was little distinction between the terms bookseller and publisher:

publishers still called themselves booksellers and some were both publishers and wholesale booksellers. Most of the sales made by publishers were either wholesale to other publishers or to retail booksellers who were supplied at a fixed discount below retail prices.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁶ Extracts from at least 33 newspapers and periodicals were used in the advertising puff by Fisher, Son & Co. See Bibliography under newspapers and periodicals for a full list.

⁴⁸⁷ These four examples come from adverts in the *Literary Gazette* for 1830, pp. 197, 582, 792 and 803.

⁴⁸⁸ Curwen, op.cit, pp. 412-415.

⁴⁸⁹ William St Clair, op.cit., p. 170.

At the back of Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* for 1843, 'quarto, elegantly bound, with design in gold covering the sides, price one guinea', there are four pages of 'Works Published by Fisher, Son & Co'. under the heading *Fisher's Series of Foreign Views, and other Illustrated Works*. The advertising puff continues:

The advantage of such works as the following are twofold - Instruction and Amusement; [ancient topos: 'utilitas et voluptas'] they familiarize us with the scenic features of other countries and communities - their Cities, Palaces, Churches, Public Buildings, Streets, Scenery, Manners, Customs - and, by enabling us to compare them with our own, they enlarge the mind, and expand the intellect. They amuse us in the hours of domestic and social intercourse - afford subjects for pleasing conversation - accustom our children, through the medium of a noble art, to contemplate with awe and admiration, the beauties of Nature - the wondrous and magnificent structures raised by men's hands; and thence tend to lead their minds to reflect on and adore the power and wisdom of man's and nature's God.

Among the illustrated topographical works listed are:

Italy, Greece, and the Rhine Illustrated in two volumes, quarto, containing 73 plates, elegantly bound, price £2. 6s.

The Turkish Empire Illustrated; comprising Constantinople and the Seven Churches of Asia Minor &c.&c. containing 96 plates, two volumes elegantly bound in morocco, price £3. 3s.

Syria and the Holy Land Illustrated containing 120 plates in three quarto volumes, handsomely bound, embossed and gilt, price £3. 10s.

The Mediterranean - Its Shores and Islands Illustrated in two volumes, quarto, cloth, containing 65 plates, price £2. 2s.

The Himalaya Mountains Illustrated with 38 plates, super-royal quarto volume, elegantly bound in morocco, price £2. 2s.

India, China, and the Shores of the Red Sea Illustrated, in two quarto volumes containing 64 plates, handsomely bound, price £2. 2s.

Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated, 140 plates, handsomely bound and gilt, price £2. 2s.

The Lake and Mountain Scenery of Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated, with 216 plates, in three volumes, quarto, tastefully bound and gilt, price £3. 3s.

The Counties of Chester, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham and Rutland Illustrated, containing 73 plates, handsomely bound, price 21s.

Lancashire Illustrated, one volume, quarto, containing 112 plates, handsomely bound, gilt edges, price £1. 11s. 6d.

Scotland and Scott Illustrated, containing 108 plates, two volumes, quarto, elegantly bound, price £2. 2s.

Ireland Illustrated, one volume, quarto, containing 81 plates, handsomely bound in cloth, gilt edges, price £1. 1s.

The last of the Fisher's works listed is:

This day is published, to be continued monthly. Uniform with Mr. Allom's splendid and popular work, *The Turkish Empire Illustrated - The Chinese Empire Illustrated* in a series of highly-finished engravings.

'Published this day' is not to be read literally as Fisher was a master at reprinting his works. The terms 'superbly embellished', 'superior editions' and 'cheap editions' and suchlike seem to have a long history in bookselling and as William St Clair pointed out go back to Cooke's

catalogues of c.1810.⁴⁹⁰ 'Beautiful', 'elegant', 'superb' and 'magnificent' were used by Bell, Coot and Harrison.⁴⁹¹

Earlier in 1840, there were three pages of adverts in the back of volume II of Fisher's *Shores and Islands of the Mediterranean* under the title 'Beautiful Works of Art, &c. Published by Fisher, Son & Co. Newgate Street, London, Chatham Street, Piccadilly, Manchester; Hunter Street, Liverpool and 106 rue Saint Honoré, Paris'. The publishing line gives some indication of the main publishing/distribution points for these works. The first work is Fisher's *Historic Illustrations of the Bible... now publishing in monthly parts, quarto size, each containing Three Engravings, price 2s.,... This work may also be had in Divisions, each containing twelve Plates; Division 1, price 9s. published September 1st. 1840.* The illustrations are mostly after Old Masters such as Rubens, Rembrandt, Poussin and Guercino. The third page of advertisements promotes: *Fisher's Picturesque Illustrations of British and Foreign Scenery from original drawings by Allom, Bartlett, Petrie, Pyne, Stanfield, etc. In a series of quarto volumes, tastefully bound for the Drawing-Room Table, or the Library.* It includes: *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* (140 plates), *The Lake and Mountain Scenery of Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland* (200 plates), *The Counties of Chester, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham and Rutland Illustrated* (73 plates), *Lancashire Illustrated* (112 plates), *Ireland Illustrated* (81 plates), *India, China and the Shores of the Red Sea Illustrated* (60 plates), *Italy, France and Switzerland Illustrated* (135 plates) and *Character and Costume in Turkey and Italy* with 21 lithographs drawn by Thomas Allom and printed in the tinted style by Hulmandel [sic].

4.3 Subscriptions.

The above advertisement ends with a call for subscriptions:

Gentlemen wishing to subscribe are requested to forward their names direct to the Publishers Messrs. Fisher, Son & Co or to their respective Book and Printsellers with instructions to have them immediately registered at the Publishers for the purpose of being inscribed in the printed list of subscribers.

An advert for the newly launched *Colonial Magazine* in 1839 announcing its publication on January 1st (price 2s. 6d.) invites readers to apply for Prospectuses and a specimen number will be forwarded to Literary Institutions, Book Societies, Reading and News Rooms and Clubs. It also suggests that the readership most interested in the magazine would be Members

⁴⁹⁰ William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 129.

⁴⁹¹ Curwen, op. cit., p.76.

of Parliament from both Houses, East and West India Proprietors, Merchants, Ship Owners and Traders.⁴⁹²

George Virtue inserted an impressive two page list of subscribers into part three of *Scotland Illustrated* (1835). It is under the patronage of the Royal Family, and the French King Louis Philippe, followed by a list of Dukes, Earls, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, Honourables, armed forces personnel ranging from Admirals and Major Generals to Captains and Lieutenants, Curates, Doctors and private individuals making a total of 498 persons [fig. 79]. This can be compared to Fisher's list of 167 subscribers for *Views in India* (1835) [figs. 80a, b & c] see Chapter 5.11.

4.4 Reprints and the problem of dating.

What is striking about Fisher, Son & Co.'s publications are the constant reprints. As William St Clair pointed out in *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge, 2004) there were commercial vested interests in prolonging the obsolete, adaptations, anthologies, abridgements and reprints.⁴⁹³ The publisher seems to be manipulating the plate stock, producing a new work that often has the same images but produced under another title or format. As has been seen earlier in the chapter, this is nothing new as Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon had been re-issuing their books and plates since the early 1800s. Continuous production of reprints was a way of making money for not much effort. Ownership of the original art work by the publishers reduced their expenses (and often the plates were more valuable than the artist's initial design).

With Fisher's publications there is often a problem of dating them as firstly they are brought out as part-works, secondly, after a year or two, the book is produced and then within a few years they appear again under a different format such as Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book*. Part-works were also rapidly reissued, one example of part 14 of *Scotland Illustrated* I examined bore the date 1839 yet the original part 12 was issued in 1836 and logically part 14 should not be 3 years later. Indeed on closer inspection of the cover the addresses of some of Virtue's agents were not the same thus indicating a later reissue. This is further complicated after Robert Fisher sold the business to Peter Jackson in about 1849. Then Jackson reissued the stock again and in 1853 the whole stock was acquired by John Tallis and Ephraim Tipton

⁴⁹² Advert in *The Literary Gazette*, vol. 23, no. 1195, Saturday 14 December 1839, p. 797.

⁴⁹³ William St Clair, op. cit., (Cambridge, 2004), p.66.

Brain under the aegis of The London Printing and Publishing Company who again republished the old illustrations in a brand new format until the 1870s. A careful inspection of these reprints shows that the new publishers found it necessary to make alterations to some of the plates, or to the lettering of the plates, as regimes changed and new wars were fought. For example when *France Illustrated* came out in the 1840s France was a monarchy under Louis Philippe but by the time of T. Wright's *History of France* of 1859, France was again an Empire under Napoleon III, and in the 1850s Britain and France were allies in the Crimean War. T. Wright updates G.N. Wright's work by making mention of Queen Victoria's visit to the Emperor Napoleon III in 1855. In this edition Allom's *Entrance to the Port of Marseilles*, engraved by Willmore, (division VI) is particularly revealing as a subtitle has been added to update it: 'The French troops embarked at this port in aid of the Italians in May 1859'. This seems an obvious attempt to bring the publication up to date. This was a reference to French help in the Risorgimento or Unification of Italy which was completed in 1860. Comparison of the two *Marseilles* plates shows that the later one is darker and lacks the definition of the earlier one. This type of up-dating is also seen in *China Illustrated*, later reissued as *The Chinese Empire Illustrated* with added plates to include the Second Opium War of 1856-58 (see chapter five, number 26). The *Topographical History of Surrey* issued in the 1840s is up dated in the 1870s and the text or dates of some of the plates as well as the main body of text are altered to take into account changes that have occurred in the intervening years (see chapter five, number 19). Hunnisett comments 'that the peculiar publication habits of men like Henry Fisher have also led to the use here of unorthodox dating methods (e.g. each time the plate is used, the date is changed in the publication line)'.⁴⁹⁴ Indeed there does not seem to be a consistent and methodic system of dating the plates. There is a danger of confusing the issue by not recognizing the various changes of ownership or underestimating the number of re-issues and re-prints. Hunnisett points out that the activities of the reprint and remainder specialist Henry George Bohn 'undoubtedly kept the steel-engraved book alive much longer than otherwise would have been the case and encouraged a slight revival between the 1860s and 1880s'.⁴⁹⁵ Bohn used the steel-facing method (discussed in 2.2) to prolong the life of the engravings.

4.5 Uniform Publication.

⁴⁹⁴ Basil Hunnisett, *An Illustrated Dictionary of British Steel Engravers* (Aldershot, 1989) p.xiii, notes on sources.

⁴⁹⁵ Hunnisett, *ibid*, p.169.

One significant feature of illustrated picture book production was that the publisher could achieve a uniform publication even though he used different artists and a team of different engravers.

However, it must be emphasized that the artisans involved, whether artists or engravers, were at the height of one of the best periods for topographical depiction. Many had worked directly under J.M.W. Turner and now worked for either Fisher or Virtue or both.⁴⁹⁶ One can hardly accuse them of dry, mechanical copying. For example Thomas Higham, who engraved some of George Petrie's designs in G. N. Wright's *Ireland Illustrated* (1828-31), produced, just three years later, one of the best engravings after Turner in *Turner's Annual Tour, The Seine* (sometimes known as *Wanderings by the Seine* by Leitch Ritchie) published in 1834 by Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman. Of the twenty engravings after Turner, the façade of *Rouen Cathedral* by Thomas Higham is a *tour de force* [fig. 81], interpreting Turner's loose colour drawing and investing the façade of the Cathedral and market with intricate detailing in a very small format, 5 ½ x 3 7/8 inches (140 x 95mm).⁴⁹⁷ This can be compared to Samuel Prout's *Rouen Cathedral*, engraved by William Wallis, measuring 5 ¾ x 3 ¾ inches (145 x 95mm), in *The Continental Annual* for 1832 published by Smith, Elder & Co [fig. 82].

4.6 Foreign Representation, Continental Sales, Collaborations and Translations.

France:

In 1851, six years after Thomas Allom presented copies of Fisher's *China Illustrated* and *France Illustrated* to King Louis Philippe of France, Prince Anatole Demidoff wrote to the artist Eugène Lami (1800-90) thanking him for sending him his watercolour of the *Inauguration of the Great Exhibition* in London :

Je crois aisément que ces excellents amis d'Albion, ces grands faiseurs de Vignettes, ne vous pardonneront pas cette réussite.⁴⁹⁸

During his long life, Eugène Lami was to see eight Régime changes in France.⁴⁹⁹ He had begun as a trainee in Horace Vernet's studio in 1815, then after two years went to the studio of Baron Gros, David's best pupil and successor, where he met the next generation of artists such

⁴⁹⁶ Turner's *Rivers of France* engravers included: J. B. Allen, J. C. Armytage, R. Brandard, J. Cousen, S. Fisher, T. Higham, T. Jeavons, W. Miller, W. Radclyffe, J. Smith, W. R. Smith, R. Wallis and J. T. Willmore. See Appendix 6 - Index to Fisher's and Virtue's engravers.

⁴⁹⁷ See Luke Hermann, *Turner Prints: the Engraved Work of J.M.W. Turner* (Oxford, 1990) pp.173-4 and p.175 for an image of this engraving.

⁴⁹⁸ Quoted in André Lemoisne, *Eugène Lami 1800-1890* (Paris, 1912) p. 130-31: 'I don't think our excellent English friends, these Vignette specialists, will easily forgive your success' (my translation) Vignette is used for a steel-engraved plate.

⁴⁹⁹ A most useful book to the background of this period is Philip Mansel's *Paris between Empires 1814-1852* (London, 2001).

as Géricault and Richard Parkes Bonington. The Salon of 1824 was a revelation to the French as they were introduced to the new developments in English painting such as Constable, Copley Fielding, Lawrence and Bonington, for the first time since the long absence of English artists owing to the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. Watercolours were a novelty and so was the English talent in a medium that was not much admired in France up until this time. Anglomania and Romanticism were all the rage and the poetry of Byron and the novels of Sir Walter Scott sold well in France. Inspired by this, Lami went to London in 1826. Here he produced an album of 12 lithographs, *Souvenirs de Londres* and followed it up with a second series in 1827 *Voyages en Angleterre*, published by Colnaghi and Charles Tilt in London in 1829.

In France Eugène Lami became known for his Court and Social scenes, what the French call 'peintre de mœurs', in the time of the reign of King Louis Philippe (1830-48). His 'vie de Chateau' drawings are typified by his *Bal de Marie-Stuart* lithograph of 1829 and other subjects included lively street scenes, dandys, horse racing, hunting and family life. In the 1840s he produced three designs out of nineteen steel engraved views for *Mrs Gore's Paris (Heath's Picturesque Annual - Paris in 1841)* published by Longman, Brown, Green and Longman in 1842 which also included 16 designs after Thomas Allom. Then followed *L'Hiver et Eté à Paris* by Jules Janin (1842-43). The 36 watercolours were engraved on steel by the best English engravers such as Charles Heath, J. B. Allen, C. Mottram, Charles Rolls, E. Radclyffe, J. C. Varral, R. Wallis, W. Wallis, Lumb Stocks, R. Staines, H. Robinson, Frederick A. Heath, E. Roberts and Alfred T. Heath. Radclyffe's engraving after Lami of the *The Italian Boulevards, Paris* (sic) [fig.83] and dated 1 October 1842, is a good example of a lively steel engraved Paris street scene. This can be compared to T. Higham's engraving after Turner of the *Boulevard des Italiens* created for *Turner's Annual Tour - The Seine* in 1835.⁵⁰⁰

L'Hiver à Paris appeared as a part-work (livraison) between October and November 1842 with the French publisher Henri Léon Curmer (1801-70), famous for publishing Daumier's designs such as *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (1840), but was first published in England as *The American in Paris - Heath's Picturesque Annual for 1843*. Followed in 1844 by *Winter in Paris - Heath's Picturesque Annual for 1844*, published by Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown,

⁵⁰⁰ Luke Hermann, *Turner Prints: the Engraved Work of J.M.W. Turner* (Oxford, 1990) reproduces this engraving on p.179.

Green and Longman. This also became a supplemental fourth volume to G. N. Wright's *France Illustrated* under the title *A Summer and Winter in Paris*, drawings by Eugène Lami, descriptions by Jules Janin, 50 steel-engraved plates, published by Peter Jackson, late Fisher, Son and Co, Caxton Press, Angel Street, St Martin's-Le-Grand, London and H. Mandeville, rue Neuve-Vivienne, Paris, 1844. There seems to have been close collaboration between Lami and Allom. Lemoisne mentions that they worked together on the *Grand Gallery of the Louvre* (dated 1843 on the plate) in *L'Été à Paris* and engraved by C. Mottram. Curiously this same engraving is in G. N. Wright's third volume of *France Illustrated* but the engraver is J.B. Allen. This occurs again for the *Henry II Gallery, Fontainebleau*, again engraved by C. Mottram in *L'Été à Paris* but engraved by J. H. Le Keux in Wright's *France Illustrated*.⁵⁰¹ It seems Allom put in the architecture and Lami drew the figures.

Lami finished the work very quickly and after the second volume was completed wrote to his brother on 5 July 1843:

Voilà près de deux mois que je t'ai écrit, mais c'est que j'ai été terriblement occupé, je viens de terminer, ce matin, le dernier dessin du second volume de Paris de l'année dernière. Il a fallu faire 14 dessins en deux mois.⁵⁰²

Lami's connection with print publishing in England and cross-channel collaboration is not an isolated case. The French were in love with *Les Keepsakes Anglais*. The boom period was between 1823 and 1869. Thackeray, writing in the 1880s, was critical of the way English publishers saturated the markets of both France and Germany with their cheap prints:

These countries are, to be sure, inundated with the productions of our market, in the shape of Byron's *Beauties*, reprints from *The Keepsakes*, *Books of Beauty*, and such trash; but these are only of late years, and their original schools of art are still flourishing.⁵⁰³

Time after time one finds English engravers behind the French titles. Often the publication was a translation of an English work. Georges Vicaire lists at least 16 publications in his survey of *Les Keepsakes et les annuaires illustrés de l'époque romantique*.⁵⁰⁴ At least two were Fisher publications: *Heures de Recréation* (1837) by H. and E. Sazerac and published by H. Fisher, R. Fisher and P. Jackson, Newgate with 10 steel engravings by E. Goodall, J. C. Bentley, H. Melville, Adlard and J. B. Allen after Turner and J.D. Harding etc. and possibly the *Keepsake Chrétien* of 1840. Many of Fisher's publications were almost immediately translated into French and include:

⁵⁰¹ Lemoisne op. cit., p. 152 and p. 157.

⁵⁰² Lemoisne, op. cit. p. 101: Well, it's nearly two months since I wrote to you but I have been frightfully busy, I just finished this morning my last drawing for the second volume on Paris from last year. I had to do 14 drawings in two months. (my translation).

⁵⁰³ W.M. Thackeray, *The Paris Sketchbook* (London, 1885), p.194.

⁵⁰⁴ Georges Vicaire, *Manuel de l'amateur de Livres du XIXème siècle 1801-93* (Paris, 1973) pp. 647-705. See List in Appendix 2 under French Keepsakes.

L'Empire Ottoman Illustré by Léon Gallibert and Clément Pellé
Gage d'Amitié by J. F. Gérard (*Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland* in 73 views)
 London, 1834 was sold in Paris by A. & W. Galignani and Rittner and Goupil
Les Iles et Les Bords de la Méditerranée comprenant La Sicile et la Cote de Barbarie by Clément Pellé
Paysages historiques et illustrations de l'Ecosse et des romans de Walter Scott by T. A. Sosson
Gage d'Amitié by Alexandre Sosson
La Syrie. La Terre -Sainte, L'Asie Mineure etc.
L'Empire Chinoise
La France au XIXe siècle by Charles-Jean Delille
Vues Pittoresques de L'Inde

The earliest reference to Fisher having an office, or representation in France, is 1832, in the publishing line of *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated*: H. Fisher, and P. Jackson, Paris, 37, Quai des Grands Augustins. In 1838 Carne's *Syria, The Holy Land and Asia Minor Illustrated* and Walsh's *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated* gave the address as: 20, Quai de L'Ecole. By 1843 the publishing line of Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* carried the address: 108, rue Saint Honoré. By 1844 *France Illustrated* listed H. Mandeville, 42, rue Neuve-Vivienne as their Paris office.⁵⁰⁵ It seems therefore that Fisher, Son & Co and later P. Jackson had an office or representation in Paris for about 13 years from 1832-45, which, coincidentally, are the boom years for the production of steel-engraved picture books.

Bookshops that also sold their publications included A & W Galignani and Rittner & Goupil. Since 1804 the Librairie et Cabinet de Lecture de Galignani (founded in Padua in 1520) was located at 18 rue Vivienne not far from the Palais Royal. It moved in 1886 to its present location at 224 rue de Rivoli. Galignani had newspapers in all languages but also sold 'publications pittoresques'. Their English language newspaper *Galignani's Messenger* (established 1814) provides a good source of adverts, for example January 4, 1845:

Published by Fisher, Son & Co., London and 108 rue Saint Honoré, Paris and at A. & W. Galignani & Co., 18 rue Vivienne (bottom of the courtyard) -
The Royal Favourite Annual - Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book for 1845
China Illustrated, volume II, containing 33 highly finished engravings, elegantly bound, price 26 francs (£1 was 25 francs)
The Juvenile Scrap-Book for 1845 by Mrs Ellis, embellished with 16 choice engravings, tastefully bound and gilt, 11 francs
Keepsake for 1845, handsomely bound in red silk, gilt edge, price 26 francs
Book of Beauty for 1845, elegant silk binding, price 26 francs
Cattermole's Historical Annual for 1845, elegant silk binding, price 26 francs
Fisher's Historic Illustrations of the Bible, after the Old Masters, 4 vols, containing 30 plates each, neatly bound, 26 francs each volume.

Galignani's Messenger for Saturday November 22, 1845 has an advert for new illustrated works: *France Illustrated, from drawings taken on the spot by Thomas Allom Esq.*, etc.

⁵⁰⁵ I was able to put in the street numbers after checking in the Paris trade directories or 'Bottins' for 1838, 1839, 1840 and 1844.

volume I, magnificently bound, gilt edge, price 26 francs. The following Saturday (November 29, 1845) it announces that:

Mr T. Allom, member of the Institute of British Architects and author of the *Illustrations of Constantinople* etc., had the honour of a private audience of the King on Monday (24 November, 1845), for the purpose of presenting a unique copy of his work illustrative of the *Chinese Empire*; and also the first volume of his *France in the 19th century*, with which his Majesty expressed himself highly gratified, complimenting Mr Allom on the correctness of the views in France.

Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers (1886 ed.), in their biography of Allom, mentions that in 1846 Allom:

had an audience of Louis-Philippe at Paris, when the King expressed his great approbation of the work (*France Illustrated*), and invited him to visit Saint Cloud the following season and requested him to make drawings of the King's own Estate at Dreux, with monuments to the Royal Family.⁵⁰⁶

It is highly probable, following the date in *Galignani's Messenger*, that Bryan's date is incorrect and should read Monday, November 24, 1845. Diana Brooks states that preliminary sketches of Dreux have survived but the whereabouts of the finished drawings is unknown.⁵⁰⁷

Germany:

C. H. Timperley in *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing* makes passing reference to the German book trade which he says is dominated by Baron Cotta, second is Reimer in Berlin and third Brockhaus of Leipzig.⁵⁰⁸ The first mention of a Fisher work translated into German is Thomas Rose's *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* (London, 1832). The German edition: *Wanderungen in Norden von England mit Ansichten der Landsee - und Gebirg-Gegenden der Grafschaften Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham und Northumberland* was published by A. Asher, Berlin and St Petersburg in 1834. Walsh's *Constantinople* etc., (London, 1838-40) was published in German by Georg Westermann, (no town is given) in 1841. *China Illustrated* (1843) was published in German by Kunst-verlag (Karlsruhe, 1843-44)

Belgium:

Gage d'Amitié, (*Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* in 73 views) sold by Pratt in Brussels (1834)

Italy:

⁵⁰⁶ *Bryan's Dictionary of Printers and Engravers*, edited by Robert Edmund Graves (London, 1886), pp. 25-26.

⁵⁰⁷ Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom* op. cit. p.106 note 77. See also B. Hunnisett, *Engraved on Steel*, op cit. pp.290-93.

⁵⁰⁸ C. H. Timperley, op. cit. p. 951 See also B. Hunnisett, *Engraved on Steel* (Aldershot, 1998) p. 244 : Cotta in Stuttgart, Decker in Berlin, Wenner in Frankfurt, Teubner and Brockhaus in Leipzig, Meyer in Hildburghausen.

An Italian edition of *Constantinople* etc., was published by Alessandro Fontana and Guiseppe Pomba in Turin but no date is given.

China Illustrated (1843) was published in Italian by Luigi Bardi (Milan, 1843-47) ⁵⁰⁹

United States:

Fisher's *Christian Keepsake* (1838) states it is published Fisher, Son & Co., London, Paris and New York. Fisher had an agent in New York from as early as 1819 (see 3.11: *Imperial Magazine* and 3.20).

India:

Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* for 1836 advertised *Views in the Himalayan Mountains, India* and informed its readers that it would be available in Calcutta from Messrs Tulloh & Co. This may have been a special arrangement as the author Lieutenant White had gathered a list of about two hundred subscribers many of whom were officers and civil servants stationed in India.

4.7 Other publishing companies with offices or representatives abroad.

Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman were represented in New York by Appleton & Co; in Philadelphia by Lea and Blanchard; in Paris by Rittner and Goupil and Aubert & Co., and later collaborated with Fisher & Co, for example in the sale of Heath's *Picturesque Annual - Paris in 1841* (see 5.23); T. O. Weigel, Leipzig and A. Asher in Berlin.⁵¹⁰

Jennings's *Paris and its environs* (1829-31) was translated into German and sold in Berlin and Saint Petersburg by A. Asher and in Vienna by Gerold.

4.8 George Virtue & Co.

George Virtue translated many of its illustrated works into French. Dr Beattie stated that he instigated and directed the first translations when Bauc拉斯 was in London.

La Suisse Pittoresque by L. de Bauc拉斯

L'Ecosse Pittoresque by L. de Bauc拉斯 (advertised as a part work from 1835 price 2Fr.50c).

Les Vallées Vaudoises Pittoresques by L. de Bauc拉斯

⁵⁰⁹ B. Hunnisett, op. cit., *Engraved on Steel*, p. 318 states that Bardi used 24 steel engravings from G. N. Wright's *The Rhine, Italy and Greece* (London, Fisher, 1841-42) in another publication in 1842 - Giuseppe La Farina, *La Germania Renana*.

⁵¹⁰ Taken from *Wanderings by the Seine* by or Turner's *Annual Tour* (1834) and *Paris in 1841*.

Le Danube Pittoresque by H-L Sazerac
L'Amérique Pittoresque by L. de Baucclas
Canada Pittoresque by L. de Baucclas

France:

Scotland Illustrated (1835 part-work), *The Waldenses* (1838) and *American Scenery* (1840) gives Ferrier, editeur, Paris at 20 Passage Bourg L'Abbé. Mr. Ferrier, according to Dr Beattie in his *Memoir* of Bartlett, before entering the publishing business had been an officer in Napoleon's army and had been wounded at the Battle of Waterloo. Ross mentions Ferrier as the principal agent of the publisher (p. 118).

The Danube Illustrated (1844) gives H. Mandeville, Libraire-Editeur, 42 rue Vivienne which is the same address as Fisher's *France Illustrated* (1844) and suggests both firms used H. Mandeville as their Paris agent.

United States:

Hunnisett states that George Virtue appointed an agent in New York, Robert Martin in 1836. However part 1 of the American version and part 6 of the UK version of *Scotland Illustrated*, published during 1835, already have R. Martin & Co, New York on their covers. This suggests Virtue saw the potential for selling his topographical view books before thinking of publishing books on North America. Hunnisett is incorrect to state that this was solely to promote *American Scenery* by N.P. Willis (with plates after W.H. Bartlett) and subsequently *Canadian Scenery* (1840-41). Bartlett's first American visit took place between July/August 1836 and July 1837 (see Chapter 5.14). *American Scenery* came out in parts from June 1837 to to November 1839 and was published in London. Hunnisett states that the wrappers had the price in dollars.⁵¹¹ *Scotland Illustrated* [fig. 84] already shows Part 1 priced at 50 cents which can be compared to the British Part 1 priced at 2 shillings [fig. 85]. Although the American cover for *Scotland Illustrated* bears the name and address of the New York agent Martin & Co, 90 York Street, Brooklyn, New York, Agents for the United States of America, in all other aspects it is exactly the same except that there is a list of subscribers and critical notices for *Scotland Illustrated* inserted before the title page in part 1 of the American version which appears in part 3 of the British version. This reinforces the notion that Virtue saw new markets for his European views.

⁵¹¹ B. Hunnisett, *Engraved on Steel*, op.cit., p. 334.

Later in 1848 George Virtue sent his nineteen-year-old son, James Sprent Virtue (1829-1892) to the New York branch. By 1851 he was head of a firm with offices across North America and returned to England in 1855 to succeed his father.⁵¹² This would also confirm that Virtue saw the potential for American sales that was not just linked to the sale of the two publications *American* and *Canadian Scenery*.

Canada:

In Chapter Two it has already been mentioned that Virtue appointed W. Dunbar as an agent in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and that *Canadian Scenery* was available as a part-work from October 21 1840 at a price of 3s. 9d per part.

Germany:

Scotland Illustrated (in book form, 1838), translated by John von Horn D.D.

American Scenery (c. 1843-44) gives T. Thomas, Leipzig

The Danube Illustrated (1843), translated by Oscar Ludwig Wolff, published by J. J. Weber, Leipzig.

4.9 Decorative Binding and restrictive trade practices.

In responding to and encouraging the demand of the public for illustrated books the publishers not only used new techniques of engraving, selling and advertising but also utilised new techniques of faster printing, binding and new formats and types of publication for public consumption. As well as faster methods of printing, the mechanization of bookbinding took place. In the eighteenth-century one often bought a book and then chose what sort of binding one wanted. With the development of the numbers trade part-works came in paper wrappers. There had always existed a cheaper method of enclosing books, from sheepskin coverings, cheapish vellum, soft bindings. Then during the Napoleonic Wars boards backed with paper were introduced as an economic necessity. However by about 1825 William Pickering (1796-1854) of Chancery Lane bound books in boards covered with dyed cloth instead of paper.⁵¹³ Thus the traditional use of leather as a binding material was challenged by cheaper cloth ones and it was soon discovered that this binding could be done by machine which meant even greater numbers of books could be produced and the prices reduced. Most of Fisher's illustrated picture books are cloth-bound but not necessarily at the cheap end of the market. In

⁵¹² ODNB/28322 entry (Oxford, 2004).

⁵¹³ *Penny Magazine*, Vol. II, issue 112, Oct.-Nov. 1833, p.511.

fact some effort has been made to make these books appear luxurious. Fisher was not a pioneer in this and was just following the example set by the *Annals*.

The format of Fisher's illustrated topographical books is usually quarto (approximately 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 inches or 11 x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches). This compares to the sizes of some of the earlier *Annals* which were octavo such as Smith Elder and Co's *The Continental Annual* of 1832 (8 x 5 inches). The quarto format of most of Fisher's illustrated books such as *France Illustrated* and *China Illustrated* required a plate of about 5 x 7 inches (130 x 180 mm) and Allom's existing designs for these publications are about 5 x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches or in the case of the earlier books there were two designs to the page thus requiring a smaller size of both drawing and engraving. For example Robert Fisher in his letters to George Petrie specifically mentioned the required size for the designs should be the same as the size of the plates, 6 x 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches (150 x 100 mm) for the 'upright or steeple images' as he called them (portrait) or 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches (100 x 150 mm) for the more frequent 'long or wide subjects' (landscape).⁵¹⁴ Examples of the double image pages taken from *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* are: Allom's *Devonport Guildhall*, 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{11}{16}$ inches (95 x 145 mm);⁵¹⁵ *Trewarthenic House*, 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{11}{16}$ inches (93 x 148 mm); and *Dolcoath Copper Mine, Cambourne, Cornwall*, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6 inches (90 x 149 mm).⁵¹⁶ Later in 1838 Allom produced a series of coloured watercolours for his sketches in Turkey measuring 8 x 11 inches. The impressed plate size mark in Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* for 1836 at its largest measures just under 9 x 7 inches for an image size of 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches (*The Young Destructive* drawn and engraved by Wrangmore). Allom's *Warkworth Hermitage, Northumberland* has a 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6 inch plate mark for an image about 6 x 4 inches. Allom's *The Rushbearing at Ambleside, Westmorland*⁵¹⁷ is approximately the same in plate mark and image size. [fig. 86]. Although Allom's *Interior of Sizergh Hall, Westmorland* has a plate size of 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches for an image size of 6 x 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. However, the *Drawing Room Scrap Books* are not a typical example of standard sizes as the plates and engravings are taken from a wide selection of different publications and usually mix portraiture with topographical landscape illustrations.

⁵¹⁴ Robert Fisher to George Petrie Letter 4, NLI, ms. 971, no. 193, September 30, 1828; and Letter 10, NLI, ms. 791 no. 199, February 10, 1829. See Appendix 4.

⁵¹⁵ Bonhams, Knightsbridge Sale, 28 April 2009, Lot 100, Devonport Guildhall, Devonport Forestreet, a pair, sepia on paper.

⁵¹⁶ In Royal Academy of Arts Collection.

⁵¹⁷ *The rush-bearing at Ambleside, Westmorland*, pencil, pen, brown ink and brown wash, 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 6 inches (98 x 152mm), Lot 671, Christie's South Kensington Sale 10 November 2010.

The second point is that the pages of the book are often gilt-edged. The third point is that the outside covers and spine of the books are often richly decorated, either embossed or richly decorated with gilt tooling and lettering, or sometimes a combination of both. The inside end boards are often marbled or have coloured paper, quite often yellow. A good example of an elegantly decorated book design is Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* - in which the 1836 version has all of the above [fig. 87]. It measures 11 1/4 x 8 3/4 inches. Again it must be stressed that the decoration of books is common to all periods, but what is relevant here is that the increased mechanisation made it easier and economic to offer and make available to a wider market richer styles of binding and decoration.

Restrictive trade practices.

In 1805 the bookbinding trade was prosperous; there was a shortage of supply of skilled labour and training apprentices took 7 years. Howe and Child estimate that there were no more than 200 men in all four lodges.⁵¹⁸ There was plenty of work supplying the Navy with account books (it was wartime) and at that time Britain exported the whole of her standard literature to America. It was essentially a London-based business divided between West End and City binders. The West End generally did leather fine bindings whereas the City binders specialised in Bibles and semi-mass-production work. Provincial book binding existed but varied in quality. In the first decade of the 19th century the London bookbinding trade expanded. However by 1826 there was a depression in the trade owing to the financial panic which led to the failure of over seventy banks and the collapse of publishing houses such as Hurst, Robinson & Co. (as mentioned in chapter two). By 1830 the effects of mechanization started to be seen as rolling machines took over from the manual beating of books. The rolling machine was a heavy iron mangle designed to press flat sheets of printed matter before they were folded and sewn. The folding and sewing was mostly done by women and their major work was in folding and sewing magazines and periodicals. *The Penny Magazine* reports that by 1833 the rolling machine had revolutionised binding and that work to bind 12,000 volumes of the *Penny Magazine* that had taken 5 or 6 months could now be done in 5 or 6 weeks.⁵¹⁹

Howe and Child, by looking at subscription rates, were able to assess the size and importance of each shop. They estimate there were probably 200 binding shops in London in 1837. This was the time of the cloth-work dispute. In 1837 six master bookbinders formed the

⁵¹⁸ Information on the Bookbinders is taken from Ellic Howe and John Child, *The Society of London Bookbinders (1780-1951)*, (London, 1952), pp.68-72, 82-91, 100-132.

⁵¹⁹ *The Penny Magazine*, 1833, Vol II, Issue 112, pp.505-511.

Association of Master Bookbinders (MBA). A general meeting was held in February 1837 which drew 40 members who were basically the largest employers representing around 730 men. The subscription rates ranged from one guinea (1-10 men), two guineas (11-20 men), 3 guineas (21-30 men), four guineas (31-40 men) and five guineas (over 40 men). Small firms like Adlard at 35 Villiers Street paid one guinea (probably connected to the printers called Adlard operating from Bartholomew Close, where Henry Fisher started out, and also linked to H. Adlard the engraver) and large firms like Westley and Remnant & Edmonds paid five guineas.

The cloth-work dispute arose out of the employment of seasonal workers or piece-workers, as industrialisation of the industry took place there was an increase in both mass-production work and the use of semi-skilled labour. Essentially the trade societies had not kept up with the times and were still meeting in the taverns as they had done in the eighteenth-century. A meeting of men was held in 'The Ship' in Ivy Lane (just off Paternoster Row where Virtue had its headquarters) and close to Remnant & Edmonds. Remnant and Edmonds employed 17 finishers but only three were proper finishers. 14 were assistant finishers earning 30 shillings a week. The Trade Committee decided that blockers and assistant finishers at Remnant & Edmonds should receive no less than 36 shillings a week. The job of the assistant finisher was to piece, paste-down, burnish and roll the insides and edges of the book in gold, whereas a finisher proper ornamented the outsides of books.

By January of 1839 the more important booksellers and publishers were being inconvenienced by the dispute and decided to meet on 18 January at the London Coffee House on Ludgate Hill. Among those present were: Longman & Co, Murray, Rivington & Co, Knight & Co, Simpkin & Co, Whittaker & Co, Hatchard & Son, Duncan & Co, Holdsworth, Hamilton & Co, Tegg, Gardner & Son, Orr & Co, Roake & Varty, Tilt, Bohn, Wix, Scott & Co, Messrs. *Henry Fisher & Co*, Edwards, Messrs. Seeley, Lewis and Baily.

Statements were heard from Messrs. Bone, Westley, Son & Jarvis, Leighton & Eales and Remnant & Edmonds. Frederick Westley of Westley, Son & Jarvis, said that:

in September or October last... at this period the Annuals were ready, and if any strike had then taken place, the American market would have been lost, and probably the London market also... to fillet a book was one of the simplest things a finisher can do. The lowest wages of an assistant finisher were 36 shillings a week, 7 ½ d for each extra hour. They will not allow a lad who is not an apprentice to wipe off the surplus gold from the common letterings of cloth covers. It has been an invariable practice for

the last 35 or 40 years, for men to press their own work for the sewers, and prices have been regulated accordingly.⁵²⁰

Remnant & Edmonds claimed they paid higher wages at the time of getting out the Annuals for fear of losing the contract and had saved Mr Murray's publications. Charles Knight, publisher of cheap literature including *The Penny Magazine*, said the question depended almost entirely upon demand and supply. Cloth had increased and the machine for pressing had improved their trade.⁵²¹ However the skill of the trade was diminishing.

Concluding Pointer.

Fisher's Liverpool experience of extended sale and reprints led to the publication of topographical works aimed at the middle classes. This chapter has explored one of the earliest of these publications, *Ireland Illustrated*, through the letters of Robert Fisher to George Petrie as well as looking at the methods Fisher, Son & Co and other companies used to promote their publications both in Britain and abroad. The presentation of the product was also considered. The next chapter looks at each illustrated picture book, at the artists and engravers who worked on them and the competition from other publishing firms, and compares the designs of Fisher's main artist, Thomas Allom, with W.H. Bartlett working for George Virtue and other topographical artists.

⁵²⁰ Howe and Child, *ibid*, pp. 124-125.

⁵²¹ Howe and Child, *ibid*, p. 126.

CHAPTER FIVE

DESIGNS FOR THE PUBLISHER: THOMAS ALLOM AND FISHER, SON & CO.

Introduction.

The year 1829 saw an increase in the production of illustrated *Annuals*, at least 17 were issued in that year.⁵²² During this boom period it is likely that Allom was hired to produce designs for book illustration. Thomas Allom had a fifteen-year association with the print publisher Fisher and his prolific designs appear in over thirty topographical books. They comprise just under 1000 steel-engraved plates taken after his designs between 1829 and 1844. This can be compared to William Henry Bartlett's association with George Virtue and his estimated total output of 1500 designs after his work over a thirty year period between 1824-54.⁵²³ It is difficult to make an exact count as some of the earlier publications have two views on the same plate (such as *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* and *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* - incidentally suggesting an economy of means on the part of the publisher). Many plates were reissued in several different publications, often long after Allom ceased his collaboration with the publishers of topographical illustrations. Some of the frontispiece or vignette titles are not attributed to an artist. Somewhat confusingly both artists occasionally worked for the rival publishing house.

In Appendix 3 there is a select bibliography of books mainly published by Fisher containing steel-engraved plates, mostly after designs by Thomas Allom. However Allom also produced designs for other publishers and these are included in the Appendix. Allom also produced lithographs, prepared by Allom himself and often printed by C. Hullmandel, which in the 1830s and 1840s were a successful rival and alternative medium for topographical book illustrations and these are listed in section III of Appendix 3.

The first twenty-seven titles for the steel-engraved book illustrations (excluding *Polynesian Researches*, which contains no designs after Allom, but was published by Fisher and contains steel engravings) were published during Allom's productive period with Fisher; however, not all were Fisher publications. The exceptions are few: number 5: *Views in the Tyrol* (1833) was published by Charles Tilt; number 14: *Scotland Illustrated* (1838-40) was published by

⁵²² In Chapter Two we had seen 1 *Annual* in 1822, 3 in 1824 and 9 in 1825.

⁵²³ As noted by Alexander M. Ross, *op.cit.*, p. 73.

George Virtue and numbers 16 and 17 and 23 were for Heath's *Picturesque Annuals* of 1840, 1841 and 1842 published by Longmans; and finally number 19 *Surrey* (1841, 1845, 1848) published by Tilt and Bogue. Subsequently I have listed seventeen titles which appear to be reprints or variants produced usually after 1844 when Allom's association with Fisher had ended. These reprints have, in the past, tended to confuse the issue and needed to be listed to establish a precise chronology of Fisher publications. There is also a separate list of 181 plates after Allom which appeared in the *Annuals* from 1832 to 1859, almost exclusively for Fisher's publications, except of course, as mentioned above, for Allom's designs in *Heath's Picturesque Annual* for *Windsor* in 1840, *Belgium* in 1841 and for *Paris* in 1842 published by Longman, Brown, Green and Longman. This has established that all the plates for Fisher's *Annuals* had been previously used in other publications. Fisher's publications and Allom's designs need to be compared and contrasted to George Virtue's publications and the designs of their principal artist, William Henry Bartlett. Therefore Appendix 1 provides a select bibliography of works after Bartlett's designs and comparison is made throughout the chapter with other topographical illustrated books and other artists.

Throughout this chapter reference is made to the *Literary Gazette* which has proved very useful in providing information on the publication of illustrated picture books, either by the advertisements in it or the reviews of these books. The *Literary Gazette* was founded in 1817 and in 1819 Longmans acquired a third share in it. William Jerdan (1782-1869) was editor and in 1843 became Proprietor. One wonders whether Longmans used the *Literary Gazette* as a vehicle for promoting its own publications. Asa Briggs in his recently published *History of Longmans* (2008) mentions the publication but does not go into any detail.⁵²⁴

Prelude to *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* and the recruitment of William Henry Bartlett and Thomas Allom.

The first designs after Allom for Fisher were of domestic topography and begin with *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* with letterpress by John Britton (Cornwall) and Edward Wedlake Brayley (Devon) published in two volumes by H. Fisher, R. Fisher & P. Jackson (London, 1832). I use the word letterpress to distinguish the text from the image because, with nearly all of Fisher's topographical publications, the images are on separate pages from the text and in Fisher's early topographical publications each plate contains two images. The book

⁵²⁴ Asa Briggs, *A History of Longmans and their books 1724-1990* (London, 2008), p.209.

size is 11 x 8 1/4 inches (275 x 210 mm). The publication date of 1832 is for the completed volume. Altogether there are 140 plates with 119 after Allom. Some of the plates, the last ten double plates, towards the end of the *Devonshire* volume carry the date 1832 beginning with *Maristow, Devonshire*. In fact *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* began as a part publication (as seen in chapter 2, section 5), with 4 engravings per part, price one shilling. As issue number 14 is dated 1830, it may be assumed that part publication began in 1829 and was probably planned during 1828. Indeed the engraved title for *Devonshire*, with a vignette of *Lydford Cascade*, is dated 1829.

An advert on the back of part number 15 states that Fishers' *Views in Devonshire and Cornwall* form part of the general series of Fishers' *Grand National Improvements* and Jones' *Great Britain Illustrated* and that the publication is uniform with Westall's *Great Britain Illustrated*. The latter publication being a series of original views from drawings by William Westall, ARA, engraved by, and under the direction of Edward Finden with descriptions by Thomas Moule and published by Charles Tilt.⁵²⁵ If there was any agreement between Fisher, Jones and Tilt, it was probably to do with sales and distribution. Certainly the part-works were on sale at all their establishments as Fisher's advertisements clearly indicate. Lackingtons had been one of the major book shops in London and Jones & Co had moved from Acton Place, Kingsland Road, to the Temple of the Muses - late Lackington's, Finsbury Square [fig. 88] after the successful launch of *Metropolitan Improvements*.⁵²⁶ It was clever of Fisher to forge links or, at the very least, suggest links, with his serious rivals which is hinted at in the use of the words 'series' and 'uniform'. Thomas H. Shepherd's illustrations published by Jones & Co. Temple of the Muses (late Lackington's), Finsbury Square were the benchmark for Fisher, Son & Co and between 1827-29 Jones had published four important works : *Bath and Bristol, Metropolitan Improvements; or London in the nineteenth century*, with a follow up *London and its Environs in the nineteenth century* (1829-31)⁵²⁷ and *Modern Athens; or Edinburgh in the nineteenth century* (first number came out in January 1829). Robert Fisher was nervous that Shepherd would beat him to publish first an illustrated work on Ireland, hence he had urged the utmost discretion and secrecy in his letters to the artist

⁵²⁵ Holloway, op.cit. lists Westall's *Great Britain Illustrated*, number 155, p.171.

⁵²⁶ see Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated*, op. cit. p. 369-80 where he mentions a second publisher 'shared the risks' of *Devonshire and Cornwall* 1829-32. Adams interprets this from the announcement in part number 38, July 1829 of *Metropolitan Improvements* of Fisher's 'Grand National Improvements' and Jones's 'Great Britain Illustrated'.

⁵²⁷ See Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated*, op. cit., pp. 390-396 for full description.

George Petrie.⁵²⁸ Indeed on 13 September 1828 Jones had announced that they would produce a work on Dublin and Fisher sent a copy of this to Petrie (see Chapter Four).

Thomas Allom was recruited by Fisher, Son & Co. sometime in 1828, though probably not before August 1828 (and no later than December 1828 when his name features in an advert for *Lancashire Illustrated* - see no. 2), as it was in August that Fisher wrote to the Irish artist George Petrie asking if Petrie would consider working on *Ireland Illustrated* and asked if Petrie 'would be willing to engage for a similar purpose in parts of England and elsewhere as might be deemed adviseable'.⁵²⁹ Fisher was keen to find someone who could imitate the style of drawings in Jones's *Views of London Buildings* (which became known as *Metropolitan Improvements* published in book form in 1829 from original drawings by Thomas H. Shepherd). Robert Fisher requested Petrie to make a drawing of some new public building on the plan and size of Jones's *Views* for his inspection. He asked Petrie:

Have you seen the whole of Jones's *London*, if you were to purchase a set they might be some guide perhaps. They appear to please better than any work of the kind yet published.

Although Petrie was engaged it became clear quite early on how frustrated Robert Fisher was with Petrie's progress. In February 1829 Robert Fisher wrote to George Petrie pointing out that his figures were too sketchy and that he required a higher standard before 'we can produce engravings equal to Jones's or Westall's (Tilts)' . 'Tilt's' refers to William Westall's designs for *Great Britain Illustrated* published and sold by Charles Tilt. An example is *Commercial Room, Manchester* [fig. 89], dated 1 October 1828 and engraved by Edward Finden. Robert Fisher adds that the Drawings should be made the exact size they are to be engraved and with the effect the engraver is to produce.⁵³⁰ Petrie seems to have been dropped from Fisher's *Ireland Illustrated*, published in book form at the same time as *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* in 1831, owing to his unreliability in producing the drawings on time and in the style requested. In the sixth letter from Fisher to Petrie in October 1828 Robert Fisher again stressed what kind of work he wanted:

I think also you do not give the Building large enough for the kind of work ours is meant to be - a work of Public Buildings - ... allow me to point out Number 9 of Jones's *Metropolitan Improvements* as a good example of what we want our work to be - a representation of the Public Buildings, Churches etc, given in a broad, bold style showing the Architecture clearly and distinctly - Number 15 of Jones's is also a good specimen. But plenty of horses, carriages, Coaches etc. Jennings' *Paris* is niggling and

⁵²⁸ For example Fisher's question: 'What do you mean by Tilt as a Rival? Is he doing Dublin?' Fisher to Petrie letter 8, NLI MS. 791, no. 197 dated 3 November 1828 and 'We know for certain that Mr Shepherd returned from Dublin last Saturday night having completed his list of sketches and we have been led to understand he sent some finished drawings some time ago'. NLI MS. 791, no. 196 dated 24 October 1828.

⁵²⁹ Fisher to Petrie letter 1, NLI MS. 790, no. 190 dated 15 August 1828.

⁵³⁰ NLI MS.791, no.199.

diminutive... Perhaps also if you could meet with an Architectural Draftsman it would be an assistance in that particular branch of the drawing and expedite it also.⁵³¹

Petrie only completed 23 out of the 80 designs, of the others 33 are by W.H. Bartlett, 16 by T.M. Baynes (Baynes had previously added the figures in Bartlett's designs for Britton's *Picturesque Antiquities of the English Cities*), 2 by Robertson, 4 by S. Austin and 2 by H.T. Kirchhoffer. As has been seen in chapter one, William Henry Bartlett (1809-1854) was the pupil of the antiquary, topographer and author John Britton (1771-1857). Bartlett was apprenticed to Britton for seven years between 1822 and 1829. Bartlett had thus completed Petrie's work and had been brought in to replace him at an advanced stage of the project. Why did not Fisher continue with Bartlett? The answer may be had in a letter from Bartlett to the author Dr William Beattie (1793-1873), a member of the Blessington set and a lifelong friend of Bartlett and author of a *Memoir* on Bartlett after his tragic early death. However, it seems Allom also knew Beattie quite well as Allom's fourth son was baptised Walter Beattie in 1837 (at the time that Allom was preparing designs for Beattie's *Scotland Illustrated*). In Bartlett's letter to Beattie he begs to introduce a friend from childhood who has just taken his degree as a Physician and is going to Baden accompanied by his sister to establish himself there. Bartlett adds:

His Father was Mr Clement, (who) was in fact the means of my being acquainted with you - I owe my being placed with Mr Britton which led to my engagement with Virtue.⁵³²

In another letter to Petrie in November 1828 Robert Fisher suggests that:

if I could engage a young man here, whose Architectural talents are unquestionable, would you engage him for a month or two to make sketches - this would enable you to get on much more quickly: and the advantages would be as much yours as ours. If willing to engage him say what you would like to pay him etc.etc.⁵³³

That young man could possibly be either Thomas Allom or William Henry Bartlett, who eventually replaced Petrie. At the time Bartlett was busy on drawings for Britton's *Picturesque Antiquities of the English Cities* published in 1830, but started earlier, as there is a letter from Bartlett to Britton, dated August 2, 1827, charting his progress.⁵³⁴ 67 out of the 83 copper plate engravings are after designs by Bartlett. Bartlett also produced 11 designs for Thomas Moore's *History of Devonshire* published by Jennings and Chaplin in 1829 and 7 designs for John Britton's and Thomas H. Shepherd's *Bath and Bristol* published by Jones in

⁵³¹ Fisher to Petrie 6, NLI Ms 791 no195 dated October 11, 1828.

⁵³² William Beattie Collection, Holborn local studies centre, ST2/1B/27, Box of Mss (A 47).

⁵³³ Fisher to Petrie 9, NLI Ms 791 no.198, November 15, 1828.

⁵³⁴ Bartlett to Britton Letter, Edinburgh University, Laing II. 426/34 dated Leeds, August 2, 1827. Appendix 1, section 4.

1829. At this period there were two concurrent series of illustrated works with steel engravings on Devon both published between 1829 and 1832.⁵³⁵

Fisher's *Ireland Illustrated* with 31 designs after Bartlett came out in 1831. In a letter to Britton, Bartlett asked him: 'Will you submit the enclosed drawings to Messrs. Fisher for remarks'...⁵³⁶ In 1831 Bartlett exhibited *Glen Garif near Bantry* (an engraving of this subject is in *Ireland Illustrated*) and *Rivaulx Abbey* (Bartlett was sent by Britton to Yorkshire where he made studies of monastic ruins including 'coloured drawings' of Rivaulx in 1829) at the Royal Academy Exhibition. He also went abroad in 1831 and spent ten days on a Rhine trip. On 6 July 1831 Bartlett married Susanna Moon, the niece of the print publisher Francis Graham Moon, a future Lord Mayor of London. During 1831 and 1832 Bartlett produced 86 sketches for Thomas Wright's *Essex*, comprising its ancient and modern history, a general view of its physical character, production, agricultural condition, statistics &c &c, embellished with a series of views from original drawings by W. Bartlett Esq., published by George Virtue, 26 Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row.

The *DNB* (1899) entry for Thomas Wright (1810-1877) wryly remarks that the elaborate *History and Topography of Essex* was the chief labour of his undergraduate life whilst he was studying at Trinity College, Cambridge.⁵³⁷ It was issued by Virtue in 48 monthly parts beginning in 1831 and was published in book form with two volumes and one hundred and one engravings in 1835.⁵³⁸ In fact Bartlett's future lay with Fisher's rival publishers George Virtue. Hunnisett suggests that Bartlett's first connection with Virtue were ten designs for W.H. Ireland's *England's Topographer Kent* (dated c.1828-29).⁵³⁹

So how did Thomas Allom begin his career with Fisher, Son & Co? There are very few sources but there is a letter to an unknown correspondent in which Allom writes:

Some years back the Publisher on seeing some of my architectural designs sent Offers which were ultimately accepted by me chiefly with a view to a further study of my profession as an Architect by the means they afforded of seeing every place of interest either in my own or other Countries...⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁵ source from *Etched on Devon's Memory*: www.Devon.gov.uk/etched

⁵³⁶ Edinburgh University, Laing II, 426/35, undated, see Appendix 1, section IV, letter 2.

⁵³⁷ *DNB* (1899).

⁵³⁸ see Holloway, *Steel Engravings*, op.cit. pp.189-191 which differs from *DNB* 1899 entry regarding publishing dates and number of plates.

⁵³⁹ Hunnisett, *Steel-engraved book illustration in England* (1980), op. cit. p.110.

⁵⁴⁰ Letter to an unknown correspondent, c.1850. Christie's South Kensington Sale, 18 November 1985 (1), cited in Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom 1804-1872*, Exhibition Catalogue RIBA (London, 1998), p.28.

In 1819, at the age of 15, he was apprenticed to the architect Francis Goodwin (1784-1835).⁵⁴¹ In 1824 he exhibited at the Royal Society of British Artists *West View of a Design for a Cathedral* (drawing number 538) and *Interior of a Cathedral* (number 556). His architectural apprenticeship ended in 1827. During his time with Goodwin he worked on Christchurch, West Bromwich, begun in 1821, Manchester Town Hall (1822-25) and Derby Gaol (1823-27). There is an engraving by Richard Winkles after Allom of *Manchester Town Hall in Lancashire Illustrated* (published H. Fisher, Son & Jackson, 1831) and in the second edition of Francis Goodwin's *Rural Architecture* (1835) mention is made of this engraving. In 1827 Allom exhibited his first entry to the Royal Academy: *Design for Sydenham Church, Surrey* (number 982) and gave his address as 3 Bride Street, Liverpool Road, Islington. In 1828 he enrolled in the Royal Academy Schools as an architectural student between 1828 and 1838. Diana Brooks writes that 'when Allom entered the Royal Academy in 1828 he found himself in a new and exciting world. Sir John Soane, the Professor of Architecture, was an excellent teacher...'⁵⁴² and the Professor of Perspective was J.M.W. Turner (until he resigned in 1837). Turner's fortune was largely based on his income from travel book illustration. He first began to supply publishers with drawings to be engraved from 1793. But Turner's output in designs for print publishing really took off from 1827. Indeed the creation of Turner's *Picturesque Views in England and Wales*, which came out in parts, co-incides with Allom's time at the Royal Academy. Turner had trained as an architectural draughtsman and most of his early work in the 1790s were of topographical views of churches, abbeys and picturesque ruins. James Hamilton states that:

Architecture supplied the rootstock to Turner's art. Very few of his finished landscape paintings or drawings do not have a building or group of buildings in them somewhere... Turner's early training in architects' offices in London ran parallel with his formal training as a student of drawing at the Royal Academy.⁵⁴³

From late 1824 until 1836 Turner created the watercolours for *Picturesque Views in England and Wales* and from March 1827 until April 1838 closely supervised the engraving of the copper plates (later ones were of steel).⁵⁴⁴

By 1837 the market for Turner's prints was saturated. By the time Turner died in 1851 over 800 prints had been produced based on Turner's paintings and watercolours. The 1886 version of Bryan's *Dictionary* comments that:

⁵⁴¹ Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* and Obituary, *The Builder*, 26 October 1872, vol.30 p.840; also in Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op.cit., p.21.

⁵⁴² Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op.cit p. 25.

⁵⁴³ James Hamilton, *Turner and Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009), p.13.

⁵⁴⁴ see Luke Herrmann, and Evelyn Joll (eds), *The Oxford Companion to J.M.W. Turner* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 87-89.

like other men of those pre-photographic days, he spent much of his time making topographical drawings, to be reproduced in magazines, and he was less eager to shake himself free from such work than one might have expected.⁵⁴⁵

Allom's association with Fisher begins circa 1828 and it seems likely this association was a means to an end and paid for his studies.⁵⁴⁶ There is one pencil sketch by Allom from this period of *Holywell, North Wales* and it is dated 28 September 1828.⁵⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that between 1829 and 1838 Allom did not seem to submit any Architectural Designs, his last in 1828 being at the Royal Academy Exhibition *Design for Cathedral* (number 970). This design was noticed by a review in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of June 1828:

Somerset House Academy: No.970 The west front of a Cathedral (J) Allom appears to us to be the best, but the height at which the picture is placed prevents a close inspection; the principal feature is an union of the spires of Lichfield with the lantern of Ely, and the detail appears good'.⁵⁴⁸

In the same R.A. Exhibition Allom exhibited *Gate of Marseilles* (number 579).

Perspective views were mainstream teaching in the Royal Academy and Rosemary Hill, commenting on the training at the R.A. Schools of A.C. Pugin, writes that 'The perspective became an established feature in architectural drawing. It called for something of the illustrator's skill as well as the ability to paint in watercolour, and these were talents which many architects lacked'.⁵⁴⁹ Allom's apprenticeship and experience with the architect Francis Goodwin were just the skills Fisher, Son & Co were after. Bartlett's long apprenticeship as an architectural draughtsman with John Britton would also lead him to a career with a topographical print publisher. The two young artists, both newly married, were in need of paid work to support their families and although their motivations for doing this kind of work were different, it led them both to supplying designs for topographical book illustration. Taking a long view, and in retrospect, one can see that Allom perhaps entertained loftier ambitions. Towards the end of his life he undertook a series of ambitious oil paintings such as the *Destruction of Corinth* (1870), 1450 x 2380 mm which, in layout, architectural composition and vivid colours bears a striking resemblance to Turner's *Modern Rome-Campo Vaccino* (1839), 902 x 1220 mm, in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh and Turner's *The Decline of the Carthaginian Empire* (1817) in the Tate, London. This was Allom's

⁵⁴⁵ Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* (London, 1886), p. 592.

⁵⁴⁶ Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom 1804-1872*, Exhibition Catalogue RIBA (London, 1998), pp.24-25 and Allom obituary, *The Builder*, 26 October 1872, p. 840.

⁵⁴⁷ Abbott and Holder collection, seen 25 September 2010.

⁵⁴⁸ *Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1828, vol.98, p.500. Diana Brooks mentions this as an unexecuted speculative architectural design in her catalogue *Thomas Allom*, op.cit. Appendix 2, p. 91.

⁵⁴⁹ Rosemary Hill, *God's Architect*, op. cit. p. 14.

swansong painted two years before his death, after retiring from his professional life as an architect.⁵⁵⁰

5.1 Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated (H. Fisher, R. Fisher & P. Jackson, 1831).

Allom's career with Fisher began with illustrating a book written in part by John Britton (for Cornwall), whose protégé was W.H. Bartlett, and co-authored by Britton's regular collaborator, E.W. Brayley (for Devonshire). In *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* 119 plates are after Allom. In the *Devonshire* section there are 15 plates after Bartlett and 75 by Allom. In the *Cornwall* section all 44 plates are after Allom. Britton and Brayley had already written a volume on *Cornwall* (part of volume II) of the *Beauties of England and Wales* series published for Vernor and Hood, Longman and Rees, J. Cuthell, J. and J. Arch, W.J. and J. Richardson and Crosby and Letterman (1801-13). A typical copper-engraving is *St German's Church, Cornwall* engraved by J. Storer after a drawing by John Britton which measures 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches (95 x 150mm), dated 1 May, 1802 and with the imprint Vernor and Hood [fig. 90]. In 1823 Longmans published *Excursions through Cornwall* with designs by F.W.L. Stockdale and engraved by John Greig, for example *Restormel Castle, Cornwall* and *The Monastery, Mawgan, Cornwall* [fig. 91]. The engravings are small, 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches (70 x 90mm). These sizes can be compared to Fisher's views of two per page which measure on average 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6 inches each (95 x 155mm) for example the same subjects *Restormel Castle, Cornwall* [fig. 92a] and *St Mawgan Church and Lanhern Nunnery, Cornwall* [fig. 92b] both engraved by W. Le Petit after designs by T. Allom. In Fisher's publication the title page promises 'Devonshire illustrated in a series of views of cities, towns, public buildings, streets, docks, churches antiquities, abbeys, picturesque scenery, seats of the nobility etc, etc'. So the publishers are not exclusively catering to antiquarian tastes nor views of the country seats of the nobility and have adapted their text and illustrations to include modern improvements, new architecture and developments in industry modelled along the lines of Jones's publications. In the title to the second volume, *Cornwall Illustrated*, the publishers even add 'mines' to the list. The Preface stresses the contrast between ancient edifices and the modern towns of Plymouth and Devonport and adds:

The chief design of the proprietors of this work was to produce a series of the choicest views which Devonshire exhibits and that the style of its embellishments and its low price should be such as to render it generally acceptable to the public.

⁵⁵⁰ Turner's *Modern Rome* is on the front cover of the exhibition catalogue *Turner and Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009) and Allom's *The Destruction of Corinth* is on the front cover of Diana Brooks' *Thomas Allom Exhibition Catalogue* (London, 1998).

It is significant to study the interplay between the text and the image. Occasionally the text mentions a particular aspect of the image, sometimes for clarification, such as in *Dockyard and Harbour, Devonport* (T. Allom, engraved Tombleson, dated 1829) where it notes:

In the annexed view of the Dockyard and Harbour, several objects of interest are represented, which require a few words of explanation. The large vessel in the centre is the *Captivity*, now a convict ship: this was formerly the *Bellerophon* man-of-war, of 74 guns, to which ship, when commanded by Captain Maitland, and cruising in Basque roads, off Rochefort, the Emperor Buonaparte surrendered himself, about six o'clock a.m. on the 15 of July 1815. The *Bellerophon* was fitted up for a convict ship at Sheerness in the early part of 1826, and in June, the same year, was first moored alongside the Dockyard, at Devonport, under her new name of *Captivity*...

For the engraving depicting *Dartmouth* [fig. 93] (T.Allom, F.J.Havill [sic], dated 1830) the text states:

Dartmouth, as a town, possesses little to recommend it;... but among them are some curious old dwellings, the fronts of which display grotesque carvings, in wood, gable ends, and enriched cornices, as delineated in the annexed Engraving.

For the engraving entitled *Entrance to the Dock Yard. Fore Street, Devonport* (T.Allom, W. Le Petit. Dated 1831) the letterpress comments that:

Weakley's Hotel and Elliot's Royal (or Devonport) Hotel, which confront each other, on the opposite sides of the street, are delineated in the Engraving.

The Preface to the *Cornwall* volume champions Fisher's illustrations of *Devon and Cornwall* as 'embellished literature' and an improvement on Grose's *Antiquities* and the *Beauties of England* (Britton's own work) and adds that:

by the modern invention of engraving on steel, the most beautiful impressions from its plates have been rendered both numerous and cheap. Of this process, the publishers of this work have availed themselves; and, by the united efforts of the skilful draftsman and equally skilful engraver, have produced a series of views of the scenery, seats and antiquities of Cornwall, which need only to be inspected to command admiration.

Only one image seems to have provoked a mild reaction from Britton when contemplating the plate *Sharrow Grott, Whitsand Bay, Cornwall* (Thomas Allom, E. Challis) which produced the comment [fig. 94]:

The artist has represented a party of gentlemen and ladies, partaking of a sort of pic-nic collation; but we may suppose that it is more frequently visited by the smuggler, wild fowl, and wild animals, than such personages as are here delineated, with whose fashionable attire the rugged and bold coast of Cornwall does not exactly harmonize.

When one looks at Allom's original sketches and compares them to the engravings, it can be seen that he uses pencil and sepia watercolour on cream wove paper (an Allom sketch in the collection of Abbott and Holder revealed a watermarked Whatman paper dated 1829) and keeps his images at roughly the same size as the intended engravings. Most surviving Allom watercolours for *Devon and Cornwall Illustrated* are approximately four by six inches (95/100 x 145mm). For example *The Town-Hall, Column and Library, Devonport* [fig. 95] in

which Allom has inserted some lively bustling figures in the foreground, bonneted ladies, men in top hats, children playing, groups in conversation, a couple of horses - one being ridden and the other being led. He has also successfully drawn close ups of the principal three monuments and bathed the monuments in sunlight just as Robert Fisher had instructed George Petrie to do in *Ireland Illustrated*.⁵⁵¹ The text (on page 31) explains the image (between pages 28-29) and the reader learns that the Town-Hall (portico in Grecian Doric style) was inspired by the Parthenon in Athens, and designed by the architect Mr John Foulston and the builder was Mr J.L. Rickard. It was begun in 1821 and completed in 1822 at a cost of £2902. The Column with King George IV on top (the fluted shaft in Grecian Doric style) was erected in 1824 by the same architect and builder to commemorate the changing of name from Plymouth Dock to Devonport. The Library is in Egyptian style completed in 1823 by the same team of architect and builder as is Mount Zion Chapel (in the 'Hindoo' style) partially shown between the Library and the Column, completed in 1824. What is significant here is that these buildings were added after the end of the Napoleonic wars. As Sam Smiles and Michael Pidgley have pointed out Devon had become a tourist attraction in the mid to late eighteenth century with the promotion of its watering places. War with France and the consequent restriction on foreign travel encouraged certain transformations of former fishing villages into resorts and spas as well as turning some harbours into important naval bases such as Devonport which became 'a huge naval arsenal' and 'key port guarding the western approaches and a major centre for ship-building, munitions and repairs'.⁵⁵² By the 1820s Devonport had become of major tourist interest.

The engraving of *Trellisick House, seat of Thomas Daniell* (Thomas Allom, engraved M. J. Starling and dated 1831) mentions that it was designed by P. F. Robinson, 'a scientific and tasteful architect of London'. P.F. Robinson designed the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly in 1811-12. Ackermann published an illustration of it in *Repository of Arts*, August 1, 1815, (volume 14, plate 36, page 89) under the title *Bullock's Museum, Piccadilly*.⁵⁵³ Peter Frederick Robinson (1776-1858) was a prolific producer of architectural pattern books and was an early vice president of the Institute of British Architects. Allom had already created two lithographs (designs number 13 and 14: four connected Cottages or Almshouses and a Swiss Farm House) perspective views for Peter Frederick Robinson's *Rural Architecture* (originally published

⁵⁵¹ Allom watercolour of The Town-Hall, Column and Library, Devonport, Bonhams Knightsbridge, 28 April 2009, Lot 100. Catalogued under Devonport Guildhall; Devonport Fore street (a pair) www.bonhams.com.

⁵⁵² Sam Smiles and Michael Pidgley, *The Perfection of England: Artistic Visitors to Devon c. 1750-1870* (Plymouth, 1995), p. 10.

⁵⁵³ In June 1829 Heath rented the large gallery in the Egyptian Hall to exhibit Turner's watercolours of *Picturesque Views in England and Wales*. Allom's *Panorama of Constantinople and the Dardenelles* was exhibited here in 1854.

London, 1822 but various later editions in 1826, 1828 and 1836 with Landscapes 'drawn on stone' by J.D. Harding). But Treliwick House (spelt in Robinson as Treliwick) had appeared in Robinson's *Designs for Ornamental Villas* (London, 1827) as design number 3 and the lithograph scenic view was by J.D. Harding (plate 13). It is described in *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* as having been inspired by Grecian architecture with the columns and portico of the south front similar to the Temple of Erectheus, Athens and the forms and dressings of the windows taken from the Temple of Minerva Polias. Robinson adds that, since the acquisition of the Elgin Marbles, Grecian architecture had become more fashionable. Allom had first hand knowledge having worked on Greek Revival structures for Goodwin, for example Derby Gaol. Here in Allom's first illustrations for Fisher he was achieving his aims of studying at first hand architecture and of travelling the country.

Two Allom watercolours of *Devon and Cornwall Illustrated* subjects are in the Royal Academy of Arts Collection: *Trewarthenick House, Cornwall* (93 x 148 mm) which Allom has depicted in a parkland landscape with sheep and cattle grazing in the foreground giving interest to an otherwise motionless and typical country seat scene [fig. 96]. Allom has framed this view using the device of an upright poplar tree on the left foreground and a driveway on the right foreground both depicted on higher ground than the house surrounded by trees in the middle background. Secondly *Dolcoath Copper Mine, Cambourne, Cornwall* (90 x 149 mm) where Allom has represented a lively industrial scene with smoke stacks, machinery and groups of workers, both men and women, engaged in various activities such as hammering and sorting rock, tipping a wheelbarrow and pulling on a pulley. Although the format is of a horizontal landscape one is drawn into the picture by a large vertical structure in the centre flanked by other vertical structures linked by horizontal and diagonal beams and ropes forming a series of powerful pyramids throughout the picture. The text does not refer to the picture directly but informs the reader that the mine employed about 1600 persons and that 60-70 tons of copper were mined each month; it adds that a month's expenditure cost £4500 which included coals for the steam engines £700, timber £300, ropes £300, gunpowder to blow up the rocks £150, candles £200, iron £350 and sundries £2,500. [figs. 97 & 98].

The *Edinburgh Review* for 1832 contains a fascinating advertisement from Fisher, Son & Co. after listing four of Fisher's publications: *Views in the East*; *Ireland Illustrated*; *Lancashire Illustrated* and *Devon and Cornwall Illustrated* - the latter being Parts I to VIII containing 129 views (Nine Parts will complete the series):

The ORIGINAL DRAWINGS (about 400) executed for the above works, are now offered for sale, together or singly. Each series has been carefully mounted and bound up in a handsome volume, and would form most interesting and elegant Drawing-room Scrap Books. Noblemen and Gentlemen disposed to purchase any entire series will be dealt with on very liberal terms. To be seen at the Publishers, 38 Newgate Street.⁵⁵⁴

It is not quite clear from the wording whether the original drawings are for the four publications listed or just for *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated*. However as Allom produced 119 designs for *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* it seems likely that Fisher was selling the entire original drawings for all the works. Perhaps it is significant that in the Allom sale of 1873 there are no proofs or finished drawings or sketches from *Devonshire or Cornwall Illustrated*, whilst there are what the auctioneers call 'A Scrap-Book, containing original sketches in Constantinople and Asia Minor - in water-colour and pencil (Lot 156); Lot 157 A Ditto, with original sketches of views in France - in water-colour and pencil and Lot 158 A Ditto, with views in Belgium'. These three lots were bought back by members of the Allom family Lots 156 and 158 by his son Arthur Allom (1829-95) and Lot 157 by Storr (John Storr, son-in-law married to Amy Allom, auctioneer, Debenham Storr & Sons, Covent Garden).⁵⁵⁵ Only a very few Devon and Cornwall scenes were auctioned at Christie's in 1983 and 1985 that were designs for the book illustrations,⁵⁵⁶ for example *Public Reading Room and Cochrans Hotel, Teignmouth* (Lot 16 in 1983 Sale), listed as engraving number 39 in Holloway and engraved by F.J. Havill [sic] read Havell. [figs. 99 & 100].

Some surviving original drawings and watercolours:

Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated came out at the same time as T.H. Shepherd's illustrations for *Metropolitan Improvements* (1827-30). Shepherd was prolific, producing 350 drawings for London and then drawings for Bath and Bristol [figs. 25 and 26] and for Edinburgh (*Modern Athens*). It is pertinent to view Shepherd's technique; first he made a pencil drawing on the spot, then he made a sepia drawing on which the engravers based their engraving. Shepherd's drawings survive in various collections including the Guildhall Library, Museum of London, Westminster Public Library and his sepia drawings for Edinburgh are in the British Museum's Department of Prints and Drawings. The engraved

⁵⁵⁴ *Edinburgh Review*, January-July 1832, vol. 55, p.137.

⁵⁵⁵ On Allom's Death Certificate John S. Storr, 5 The Terrace, Kensington was listed as 'Present at Death' 21 October 1872. Arthur Allom built the new premises in Covent Garden for his brother-in-laws firm, see Brooks op. cit. p. 94.

⁵⁵⁶ In 1983 only three Lots, 16-19, were designs for *Devonshire Illustrated*.

views would then be returned to him for approval and annotation. There are a set of marked proofs of *Metropolitan Improvements* in the Guildhall Library.⁵⁵⁷

This is similar to Allom's practice. Some of Allom's pencil drawings have survived which can be directly linked to engravings for example: *General view of Lyons, with the confluence of the Rhone and Soane* [sic] *from the Crox Rouge*, inscribed, pencil (8 x 13 5/8 inches, 204 x 355mm) which can be compared to the engraving by W. Floyd of *Lyons, from La Croix Rousse* (5 x 7 1/2 inches, 125 x 190mm) in Rev. G.N. Wright's *France Illustrated* (Fisher, 1844), volume one, page 35. [figs.101 & 102]⁵⁵⁸ *View of Chatsworth from the East* and a *View of Chatsworth from the West* (both approximately 7 x 10 inches, 178 x 254mm) were preparatory studies for a watercolour design which was later engraved in T. Noble's and T. Rose's *Chester, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham and Rutland Illustrated*.⁵⁵⁹ A pencil and watercolour design by Allom of *South View of Lowther Castle* (4 x 6 1/4 inches, 100 x 160mm) was the basis for an engraving in T. Rose's *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* (1832), engraved by J. Thomas which is only just fractionally smaller in size [fig.103].⁵⁶⁰ Two pencil views of *Eaton Hall, Cheshire from the south west and south east* (7 x 11 inches, 178 x 280mm), engraved by F. J. Havell for T. Noble and T. Rose's *Chester, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham and Rutland Illustrated* (1836) can be compared to the engravings. [figs. 104a, b, c & d] and can also be compared to other, earlier views of *Eaton Hall* by W. Westall, W. Daniell and J. P. Neale of 1828, 1833 and 1829 [figs. 105a, b & c].

5.2 Lancashire Illustrated (H. Fisher, R. Fisher & P. Jackson, 1831).

In 1831 Fisher published *Lancashire Illustrated*, (part publication began in January 1829) in a series of views of towns, public buildings, streets, docks, churches, antiquities, abbeys, castles, seats of the nobility etc, etc.⁵⁶¹ from original drawings by S. Austin, J. Harwood and

⁵⁵⁷ Source for Shepherd is Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated 1604-1851- A Survey and index of topographical books and their plates* (London, 1983), p.372.

⁵⁵⁸ Allom Sale, Christie's South Kensington, November 28, 1983, Lot 74. My thanks to Tom Lamb of Christie's for drawing my attention to this lot.

⁵⁵⁹ Sothebys, Lot 54, 14 July 2010, Sale L 10041. Sizes: 18 x 25.5cm (7 x 10 inches) on grey paper and 18 x 26cm (7 x 10 1/4 inches). Provenance Henry Potts, Northumberland 1990.

⁵⁶⁰ *Lowther Castle, Westmorland* (4 x 6 1/4 inches) was illustrated by Henry Potts, Northumberland in his 2008 *Catalogue of architectural designs and drawings and topographical views* and the same watercolour by Abbott & Holder, London, on their online catalogue www.abbottandholder.co.uk number 115 as *Lowther Castle south front* in June 2010. The engraving after Allom was in Thomas Rose's *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* (Fisher, 1832) and republished in *Gage D'Amitié or The Northern Tourist* (Fisher, 1834), number 40, page 38.

⁵⁶¹ An earlier advertisement in the *Literary Gazette* 27 December 1828, p.833 had a rather more fulsome description: 'Fisher's *Grand National Improvements* and picturesque illustrations of the British Empire in the nineteenth-century, displayed in a series of views of cities, towns, public buildings, palaces, abbeys, castles, seats of the nobility, sylvan and river scenery, shipping, docks, streets, churches, monuments etc... January 10 [1829] will be published No. 1 price only 1s. per No. of *The Illustrations of England* commencing with views

G. and C. Payne. Engraved on steel under the direction of Robert Wallis with historical and topographical descriptions by W.H. Pyne, D. Wylie and others. W.H. Pyne, an accomplished watercolour painter, had also been Ackermann's cicerone in 'The Repository of the Arts' Gallery in the Strand (as mentioned in Chapter One). The work had taken some years to prepare and as we have seen in Chapter Four (Letter 3, MS 791 no. 192) first mention of it is in a letter from Robert Fisher to George Petrie on 18 September 1828 when he writes:

the engraving of the plates (of *Ireland Illustrated*) would be the same as we have agreed to give to Mr R. Wallis for our Lancashire Work.

The vignette of *Seacombe Slip, Liverpool* on the title page (drawn by Austin and engraved by R. Wallis) has the publishing line London. Henry Fisher, Son & Peter Jackson is dated 1829. Hence it can be concluded that production took from at least 1829 to 1831. An advert for Fisher's *Grand National Improvements* in the *Literary Gazette* for Saturday December 27, 1828 mentions *Lancashire* and significantly Allom's name appears for the first time amongst the list of artists.⁵⁶² There are 54 plates with 2 engravings per page making 104 images. The book size is 11 ½ x 9 inches (290 x 229 mm). Thomas Allom was responsible for 9 designs, four of which were later reproduced in Edward Baines's *History of the County Palatinate and Duchy of Lancaster* (Fisher, 1836). The plates are:

- 4. *Market Street - Canliffe's, Brook's & Co's Bank*. Allom. M.J. Starling.
- 5. *The Infirmary, Brownlow Street*. Thos. Allom. Jas. Allen (reproduced as *Brownlow Hill* in E. Baines' *Lancaster* of 1836, volume IV)
- 13. *Low Hill. General Cemetery*. T. Allom. Robert Wallis.
- 20. *The Statue of George III. London Road*. T. Allom. J. Starling.
- 48. *The Town Hall, Manchester*. T. Allom. Richd. Winkles, (in Baines, volume II).
- 59. *S.E. View of St Luke's Church, Liverpool*. T. Allom. J. Rogers
- 60. *N.W. View of St Luke's Church, Liverpool*. T. Allom. J. Rogers
- 69. *St Philip's Church, Salford*. T. Allom. J. Pass, (in Baines, volume II)
- 79. *St George's Church, Hulme, near Manchester*. Allom. Watkins, (in Baines, Volume II)

The Preface states:

Lancashire has long been to Great Britain the cradle of mercantile science, and the great emporium for machinery and manufactures. A publication, therefore, which presents to the reader a pictorial cyclopedia of what is most remarkable in the County, accompanied with historical notices of the rise and progress of its trade, can hardly fail to meet the approval of an enterprising and commercial people.

That this is a Work of no common character, the number of its Engravings, and the superior manner in which they have been executed, will most fully attest. To elucidate, explain, and describe these superb graphic ILLUSTRATIONS, the letter-press accompanying each plate has been purposely adapted...

in Liverpool, Manchester, Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, Bolton' etc. which seems to imitate the tone, if not the wording, of Jones's *Metropolitan Improvements*.

⁵⁶² *London Literary Gazette and Belles Lettres*, Saturday December 27, 1828, no. 623, p.833.

To the expense incurred in sending this publication into the world, the price at which it has been, and still continues to be sold, bears but a very inadequate proportion. It was not to a heavy charge, but to an *extended sale*, that the proprietors were induced to look for a reimbursement of the capital advanced. Having, therefore, accomplished their undertaking on these liberal principles, from which they are not disposed to deviate, they flatter themselves that the patronage hitherto conferred on this publication will be considerably increased, now the volume is complete.

The phrase 'extended sale' suggests that the publication was issued in parts and echoes Robert Fisher's explanation to George Petrie of how Fisher, Son & Co went about their business.⁵⁶³ *Lancashire Illustrated* was part of Fisher's series of *Grand National Improvements* and Jones's *Great Britain Illustrated* as advertised on the back of a Specimen copy of *Lancashire Illustrated* [fig. 78]. This Specimen copy has no cover price but is essentially a part-work comprising two engraved plates with two views on each plate after designs by Harwood and engraved by Le Petit and Tombleson and text of pages 41-44, which bears no relation to the images. [fig. 77]. The title running at the top of the letterpress on alternate pages is *Grand National Illustrations* which also appears in the advertisements in other Fisher publications.

The publishing line of the Specimen copy reads:

London: H. Fisher, Son, & Co, 38 Newgate Street; Ackermann & Co. Strand; Tilt, Fleet Street; and Jones & Comp. Temple of the Muses, Finsbury Square. 1830.

The plan of publication is also mentioned:

The Work will be published in Demy Quarto. Each Number will contain Four Views, engraved in the Line manner. Price 1s. per Number - Proofs, on India Paper, 2s. per Number. Parts, containing Four Numbers, and 16 Engravings, 4s. - Proofs, on India Paper, 8s. Parts I to V are already Published.

This suggests that by the time the Specimen was published in 1830 already 80 pages of letterpress had appeared (the specimen contained pages 41-44 - see supra).

The early part of the publication concentrates on Liverpool (from page 13) and indeed the first two illustrations on the following page, dated 1829, are: *The Corn Exchange* and *Exchange Buildings and Nelson Monument* both plates drawn by G. & C. Payne and engraved by Thos. Dixon. Mention is also made of William Roscoe, author of the *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici* (London, 1795-6) who did so much to introduce culture and the arts to Liverpool and who had come from relatively humble beginnings and 'whose life [was] a splendid example of the benefits both to the individual and to society for the union of studious ability with indefatigable industry' (page 41). Pages 41-44 are precisely the portion chosen for the

⁵⁶³ 'Extended Sale' was used by Robert Fisher in a letter to George Petrie, NLI, Ms 791 no 192 reproduced as Fisher to Petrie 3 in Appendix 4.

Specimen copy and the letterpress begins with the heading *The House in which William Roscoe, Esq. was born.* [fig.106].

Here the book concentrates on the recently erected buildings of Liverpool, many by the architect John Foster who had accompanied Mr Cockerell on a visit to Greece in 1811.⁵⁶⁴ In Allom's Obituary in *The Builder* reference is made to Professor Cockerell being an inspiration and friend of Allom.⁵⁶⁵ Other buildings mentioned and illustrated in the book are *The Royal Institution, Manchester* (p.67) by Mr Barry (Charles Barry, the future architect of the Houses of Parliament, for whom Allom provided various architectural perspectives in the 1840s including Highclere Castle and the Houses of Parliament.⁵⁶⁶ Another illustration is of *The Town Hall, Manchester* (which Allom had worked on for the architect Francis Goodwin) which the text informs us cost £30,000 and that the Temple of Erechtheus in Athens was the model. The same Temple of Erechtheus had provided the inspiration for Treliwick House in *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* (plate after Allom and M.J. Starling dated 1831) built by the architect P.F. Robinson with whom Allom collaborated with a series of lithographs in various publications together with the artist James Duffield Harding.⁵⁶⁷ Indeed Diana Brooks mentions the possibility that Allom learnt the techniques of lithography from Harding.⁵⁶⁸

Also within the publication are a number of market-place views such as *Market-Place, Preston* by J. Harwood, engraved by R. Winkles (dated 1831) and *Market-Place Wigan, Lancashire* (again by Harwood and Winkles) where the shop signs are very prominent and it is easy to read the trader's names, and which reminds one of Shepherd's blatant use of tradesmen's names with a view to sales and promotion in *Metropolitan Improvements* and which has already been mentioned in Chapter 4.1. The style of the engravings with close-up views of the buildings has clearly been modelled on Shepherd's and Jones's publications as one can see in the double image page of *Town Hall, Salford* and *Tiviot's Dale Chapel* (sic), *Stockport* by J. Harwood and engraved by F.R. Hay and dated 1831 [fig. 107].

Controversially Basil Hunnisett states that:

⁵⁶⁴ The visit and excavations of Cockerell and Foster is mentioned in Fisher's *Rhine, Italy and Greece Illustrated* (1841) volume one p. 62 with the engraving of the *Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, Aegina* (Wolfensberger, W.H. Capone).

⁵⁶⁵ For Cockerell see David Watkin, *The Life and Works of C.R. Cockerell* (London, 1974) and Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (Oxford, 2006), 4th edition.

⁵⁶⁶ See Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op.cit., pp. 52-53 and colour plates 2, 4 & 5.

⁵⁶⁷ See Appendix 3, section III for a *Select Bibliography of Books containing Lithographs by Thomas Allom*.

⁵⁶⁸ Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom* op.cit. p.45.

Henry Fisher, Son & Co printed the text of *Modern Athens*, and having seen the advantages of publishing in conjunction with printing began in 1829 its intensive programme of publishing and printing with W.H. Payne's *Lancashire Illustrated*... issued in parts, 1829-31 followed by Britton and Brayley's *Devonshire and Cornwall* 1832, Elliot's *Views in India*... issued in parts 1831-33, and Thomas Rose's volumes on the *Northern Counties - Cumberland* etc.⁵⁶⁹

Unfortunately Hunnisett does not name his source for Fisher being the printer of *Modern Athens*. He reproduces the title page (plate 61) on page 196 of *Steel-engraved book illustration in England* but there is no mention of the printer here. The regular library copies of *Modern Athens* list the printer as J. Haddon, Castle Street, Finsbury. Perhaps Hunnisett had the advantage of seeing unbound part-works in their wrappers, which often divulge more information than the bound copies. Holloway remains silent on the subject of who printed the text. Although Hunnisett was aware of the origins of Henry Fisher's career in Liverpool, his source was Timperley, yet Hunnisett's exegesis and chronology of Fisher's publications seems incorrect.⁵⁷⁰ The letters of Robert Fisher to George Petrie begin in August of 1828 with plans for the production of *Ireland Illustrated* (which Hunnisett does not mention here), and part publication of *Ireland Illustrated* is underway by 1830 (advert in the *Literary Gazette* of 1830 p. 197). Fisher's letter of September 1828 speaks about the engraver R. Wallis and *Lancashire Illustrated*, and here one can agree with Hunnisett about part publication beginning in 1829. But *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* also began part publication in 1829 (the engraved title for *Devonshire* is dated 1829, not 1832 as per Hunnisett, which is the end date). Elliot's *Views in India* originally came out in part publication from at least September 1830 (see advertisement in part issue number 14-17 of *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated*, mentioned in numbers 1 and 3 of this chapter), not 1831 as per Hunnisett. Robert Fisher's letter to George Petrie of August 1828 specifically mentions Jones's *Views of London* not *Modern Athens* (an illustrated publication about Edinburgh). Holloway lists the following Jones's publications as being published in 1829: *Bath and Bristol*; *London and its Environs*; *Modern Athens*, however Holloway lists *Metropolitan Improvements; or, London in the nineteenth century* as being published two years earlier in 1827. Thus the chronology of Hunnisett's summary of Fisher's publications needs rectifying. Obviously Robert Fisher is referring Petrie to one of Jones's London publications. It remains to be seen if the catalyst was indeed, as Hunnisett claims, Fisher's printing of *Modern Athens* or a natural extension of Fisher's activities that had begun with illustrated part-works many years before. In the *Literary Gazette* advertisement of 27 December 1828 Fisher certainly seems to have a grand plan

⁵⁶⁹ Basil Hunnisett, *An Illustrated Dictionary of British Steel Engravers*, op. cit., (Aldershot, 1989), p.3.

⁵⁷⁰ In Hunnisett, *Steel Engraved Book Illustration in England*, op. cit., pp. 170-173 Hunnisett profiles Fisher including his portrait taken from Timperley's *Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (1839).

comprising of three serial publications: *The Illustrations of England (Lancashire Illustrated)*, *The Illustrations of Ireland (Ireland Illustrated)* and *The Illustrations of Scotland*. Lancaster and Ireland were published but *The Illustrations of Scotland*, the first number advertised for 10 January 1829, and dedicated 'to Sir Walter Scott, with views in Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow etc, about 40 numbers, letter-press by John Britton and drawings by W.H. Lizars (1788-1859), T. Hamilton, H. Lizars, architect J. Ewbank (1799-1847), J.H. Kidd (probably Joseph Bartholomew Kidd 1808-89) etc. and engraved by and under W.H. Lizars, published by Fisher, Son and Jackson, Newgate Street and R. Ackermann, Strand' did not seem to continue. It has not been possible to source this work. Perhaps it failed owing to Shepherd's and Jones's *Modern Athens* published in 1829. John Wilson Ewbank made the designs for Dr James Browne's *Picturesque Views of Edinburgh* (1825) engraved by William Home Lizars. It is possible Fisher took over this publication or commissioned Lizars and Ewbank to continue with a publication on Scotland.

5.3 Polynesian Researches (Fisher, Son & Jackson, 1831).

Polynesian Researches by William Ellis published by Fisher, Son & Co in 1831 [fig. 108] does not fit in with the series of Fisher's illustrated topographical works and contains no Allom designs, but was published at around the time of *Lancashire Illustrated* and before *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* (1832) and it was illustrated, albeit with limited illustrations. William Ellis' *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii* had been published by Fisher earlier in 1826. This new work actually covered old ground as Ellis' only missionary work was his residence of nearly nine years in the Society and Sandwich Islands. However, the advertisement to the second edition (1832) stated that it was now published in a cheaper and more portable form:

The reasonable price of the present volumes, and their periodical publication will, it is hoped, secure the object desired - their more extensive circulation.

The advertisement adds that the *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii* would be the fourth volume of *Polynesian Researches*.

In the copy inspected, [fig. 109] in small octavo format, 7 x 4 ½ inches (180 x 115 mm), a four page advertising booklet has been pasted into the front cover of *Polynesian Researches* dated February 1831 and advertising that it is part of a new publishing venture called *The Select Library*:

which is designed to present to the Public, in a neat and convenient size, *principally* re-publications of a series of interesting and valuable works, of a religious tendency, hitherto issued only in an expensive form, and consequently beyond the means of many persons who would otherwise have gladly possessed them.

The size, small octavo; each volume to contain about 400 pages of letterpress; to be embellished with Vignette Titles, Frontispieces, Maps &c, &c, price 6 shillings, neatly bound in cloth. The Series to be continued at intervals of four to six weeks.

The four volumes are bound in blue board covers with a simple white label pasted on the spine stating *Select Library, Polynesian Researches by W. Ellis*, volume number and price 6s. This series looks like Fisher's response to a trend in the publishing world in the early 1830s to produce cheap editions such as Murray's *Family Library*, the *Cyclopaedia* by Longmans and the *Juvenile Library* published by Henry Colburn. The other pages of the advertisement booklet carry testimonials and an advertisement for *The National Portrait Gallery* of illustrious and eminent personages particularly of the nineteenth-century with memoirs by W. Jerdan Esq.

In the Preface Ellis states that Captain Robert Elliot, R.N. 'has favoured the Author with the use of his drawings for the embellishment of the work'... and there are 16 wood engravings and 9 engraved plates including a portrait facing the title of the head of *Pomare* engraved by R. Hicks and dated Fisher, Son & Co, London 1831 and a second title page vignette of *Fishing by Torchlight* after H. Corbould, engraved by E.J. Portbury, dated 1831 [fig. 110]. Volume One contains all 16 wood engravings, all except two within the text, and a folded map of *Polynesia* (8 ½ x 10 ½ inches, 220 x 265mm) drawn and engraved by J. & C. Walker with the publishing line: H. Fisher, Son and P. Jackson, London, 1831. Volume Two has a frontispiece plate *The High Priest of Tahiti ceding the district of Matavai to Captain Wilson, for the missionaries*, painted by R. Smirke and engraved by H. Robinson and dated 1831. The title page vignette is after H. Corbould and engraved by W. Ashby. There is a folded map of the *Georgian and Society Islands* (4 x 6 ¾ inches, 100 x 172mm) drawn and engraved by J. & C. Walker and dated 1831 [fig. 111]. There is also a full page plate (facing page 352) entitled *Eastern Part of FA-RE Harbour, in Huahine* drawn by Capt. R. Elliot R.N, engraved by W. Le Petit and dated Fisher, Son & Co, London, 1831 (2 ¾ x 5 ¼ inches, 70 x 135 mm) [fig. 112]. Volume Three has a frontispiece plate of *North-East View of the district of FA-RE, in Huahine* drawn by Captain R. Elliot, engraved by W. Le Petit and dated 1831 [fig. 113]. The title page vignette is after H. Corbould and engraved by E. Portbury, Fisher, Son & Jackson,

Newgate Street, 1831.⁵⁷¹ Edward James Portbury (1795-1885), according to Hunnisett, was in on the very beginning of the early days of steel-engraved book illustration and engraved a Perkins and Heath patent hardened steel plate in 1823 after a design by R. Westall R.A. for T. Campbell's *The Loves of the Angels*.⁵⁷²

Captain Robert Elliot was an amateur artist and he also supplied the initial drawings for his own *Views in the East; comprising India, Canton, and the Shores of the Red Sea*, published in book form by H. Fisher, Son & Co, Newgate Street, 1833. Later this same book came out as Emma Roberts' *Views in India, China and on the shores of the Red Sea* (in book form by Fisher, London, 1835, see 5.6) with designs after Prout, Stanfield, Boys, Cattermole, Cotman, Cox, Purser, Austen (sic) &c, &c. However *Views in the East* had originally come out in part publication from at least September 1830 (see advertisement in part issue number 14 to 17 of *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated*). Later, in the early 1840s, the wife of William Ellis, Sarah Stickney Ellis, wrote a series of advice and instruction manuals for middle-class women (see 5.18, 5.20 and 5.25) which were illustrated with designs after Thomas Allom. Thus this work merits inclusion as it shows the connections between publisher, author and illustrators. Indeed Fisher did seem to publish a limited number of travel and missionary books. *The Imperial Magazine* for 1832 advertises *A visit to the South Seas in the United States' Ship Vincennes during the years 1829-30, with notices of Brazil, Peru, Manila, Cape of Good Hope and St Helena* by C.S. Stewart M.A., published Fisher, Son and Co, London, 1832. By 1843 this was listed in 'Works published by Fisher, Son & Co' as *Stewart's Visit to the South Seas*, edited and improved by the Rev. W. Ellis. One volume, uniform with '*Polynesian Researches*', price 6 shillings.⁵⁷³ Thus Fisher, Son & Co maintained the six shilling cover price from its inception in 1831 until 1843. William Ellis also edited Fisher's *The Christian Keepsake and Missionary Annual* (1835-38), 'devoted to the advancement of Religion at home, and its extension abroad; and includes original contributions from distinguished Christian writers, travellers and missionaries, without reference to sect or party'.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷¹ Hunnisett, *Steel-engraved book illustration in England* (1980), op. cit. p.108 mentions both Henry Corbould, as an artist who 'for thirty years was engaged upon drawings for the engravers' and William A. Le Petit was the chief engraver for Thomas Rose's *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland* (1832) producing 45 plates.

⁵⁷² See Hunnisett, *Engraved on Steel* (1998), op. cit. pp. 121-122.

⁵⁷³ *Fisher's Series of Foreign Views, & Other Illustrated Works* as listed in *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book* for 1843.

⁵⁷⁴ Quote taken from the advert of Fisher's new works and new editions at the back of *The Christian Keepsake* for 1838.

5.4 *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* (H. Fisher, R. Fisher and P. Jackson, 1832-35).

In the early 1830s it is likely that Allom went, or was sent by Fisher, on sketching tours to the Lake District, Lancashire, the Midlands and the North East of England and on his return exhibited watercolour views of the Lake District in 1833 and 1834 at the Royal Society of British Artists.⁵⁷⁵ In 1832 Fisher started publishing *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* with letter-press by Thomas Rose. Rose seems to be a compiler of other people's texts and acknowledges that he has 'frequently extracted much interesting and valuable information from Baines' *Companion to the Lakes* ' and from other sources such as a Mr Hutchinson and also a Mr Warner's Northern Tour.

The collation is a little difficult to determine owing to the many different editions and re-issues. However volume I contains 72 views on 36 plates, volume II has 72 views on 36 plates and volume III has 69 views on 36 plates making a total of 213 views on 108 plates plus at least 3 title/frontispiece plates. There are 188 views after Allom out of a total of 216. There are generally two images to a plate but some plates only have a single engraving; five out of six of the single plates are by George Pickering, including two of the title/frontispieces, and three in volume three. The full page frontispiece plate to volume two is *Windermere Lake, looking down* drawn by G. Pickering and engraved by W. Le Petit. The full page frontispiece plate to volume three is *Eskdale, looking towards Scawfell, Cumberland* by G. Pickering and engraved by J. Varrall. [fig. 114a] Sometimes these plates are bound at the back of the entire work and may be missing from the list of plates.

The heading to all pages of text throughout the book states (my italics) *Picturesque Illustrations* of Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland. The Address, quoted below, appeals to a kind of domestic artistic patriotism which is taken up again in a distinctive rant about foreign scenery in volume two:

The present day may justly be considered the Augustine Age of Pictorial art.⁵⁷⁶ During the last few years, the most energetic and successful efforts have been made by Publishers and British Painters to create a refined taste throughout the nation for faithful and vivid delineations of native scenery. With true patriot feeling, they have sought out the charming picturesque of their own country; and revealed, with Claude-like grace and effect (the, might we not say) unequalled beauty of a British Landscape. The introduction of steel-plate engraving also lent powerful co-operation to their labours, and contributed in no small degree to produce a new era in the empire of taste. The Painter's single copy could be

⁵⁷⁵ Allom exhibited eight watercolour views of Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland at the Royal Society of British Artists, number 531, in 1833 and again in 1834, number 75 was Ullswater, Cumberland and number 154 was Birker Force, Eskdale, Cumberland.

⁵⁷⁶ Presumably 'Augustan' - a minor error. Perhaps it is merely a typographical error?

possessed but by one, - be seen, comparatively, by few; but when transferred by a skilful Engraver to a plate of steel, so great a number of fine impressions can be taken, that the treasures of art are sold at a price so trifling, as to place those beautiful productions within the reach of all who take interest in them,- and who does not ?

Amidst the laudable efforts which are being made in the present day, to render each cherished spot of earth "the mind's familiar image", it might well excite surprise if the pencil and burin sought not employment in delineating the LAKE AND MOUNTAIN SCENERY of our "native land". With what success the attempt has been attended, let the numerous specimens of art contained in this Work declare. The sublime and beautiful in nature - all that renders earth "an Eden scarce defaced" - are here reflected in a mirror more potent than the wizard's glass. This collection of native scenery should kindle love of country in the hearts of all: it is a faithful transcript of "father-land" on which an Englishman may look with pride. Admit it - a cheerful visitant - to the domestic hearth. It will speak to you of your country; and in the festive seasons of mirth and gaiety, no less than in the hour of calm reflection, it will remind you " 'tis your country still".

To give an idea of the magnitude of this undertaking, and the fearless enterprise with which the Proprietors engaged in it, a statement is subjoined, shewing the extent of capital employed in the Work. It is pleasing to add, that whilst its thousands of Subscribers are unanimous in expressing satisfaction and delight, the Publishers, and all who, under their direction, aided the progress of the Work, have no reason to adopt the language of complaint.

For Painting, Drawing and Engravings	£5000
Printing Steel Plates	£2750
Paper, £2,062.10s and Revenue Duty on ditto £687.10s	£2750
Letter-press Printing etc	£500
Total for "The Lakes"	£11,000

These costs make interesting comparison to the costs of production quoted in Robert Fisher's letters to George Petrie and from other costs noted in this thesis. The closest comparison is probably Jennings' *Paris and its Environs* with designs by Auguste Charles Pugin that cost £10,000 and was published between 1828-31 with 200 engravings. For *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* if one divides the cost of printing the plates by the 216 plates in the work then, on average, a plate cost just over £12 to print. In Robert Fisher's letters to George Petrie he writes that the going rate in London for an engraver to engrave a plate is £10-12 per drawing. For an artist Fisher quotes £4 per drawing.⁵⁷⁷ So possibly the minimum cost of painting, drawing and engraving a work like *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* works out: Engraver £12 x 216 plates = £2592 and Artist £4 x 216 plates = £864, a total of £3,456. However £4 may be too low for the artist as this figure was quoted to Petrie without profit sharing being taken into account. Perhaps £12 per drawing would be more suitable, thus £12 x 216 plates = £2592. Thus a figure of £5,184 is achieved which is close to the £5,000 quoted for the painting, drawing and engraving. Turner received more than double that sum, between £25-30 per drawing, for his *Picturesque Views of England and Wales*.

⁵⁷⁷ For Artist price see NLI Ms. 791 no.192 and for Engraver price see NLI Ms. 791 no.193.

A direct reference to the cost of buying an engraving (in a part-issue) is made on page 193 when considering the full page plate of *Rydal Water and Grassmere, from Rydal Park, Westmorland* by G. Pickering, engraved by W.J. Cooke:

With reference to the size and style of the engraving, we may be permitted to suggest the consideration, - what would, a few years since, have been the cost of this impression, here included in a work of British art for *less* than sixpence?

If one considers cost then there is a slight confusion over the definition of a number and a part. In *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* a 'Number' was one issue with four engravings costing one shilling and a 'Part' contained 4 'Numbers' and cost 4 shillings. In *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* 'Part One' cost four shillings for 17 engravings, 'Part Two' contained 8 engravings and cost two shillings as:

the proprietors of this Work beg to state, that, at the request of various subscribers, they have divided the four shilling part into two portions... at two shillings each... and thus to continue afterwards in each alternate month.⁵⁷⁸

The page size is 11 x 8 1/2 inches, 283 mm by 215 mm (the French version of *Gage d'Amitié-The Northern Tourist* measures 280 x 210 mm) and the single page engravings (landscape) measure approximately 4 3/4 x 7 1/4 inches (120 by 185 mm). However most engravings in the book are two to the page, like *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated*, each measuring approximately 4 x 6 inches for the landscape views (including lettering underneath), 95 mm or just under 100 mm by 150 mm or 155 mm. It is interesting to note that Allom's designs closely follow the size of the intended engraving, an instruction issued by Robert Fisher to George Petrie during the production of *Ireland Illustrated* as was seen in the last chapter. Here for example Allom's watercolour design for *South View of Lowther Castle* measures 4 x 6 inches (see Henry Potts' catalogue 2008 and number 115 in Abbott & Holder's catalogue 2010) [fig. 103] and again Allom's sepia design (portrait) for the waterfall *Scale Force, Cumberland* is 6 x 3 3/4 inches, 152 x 95mm (www.peppiattfineart.co.uk). However Allom's design for *Underlay Hall* (which appears on the same page as *Lowther Castle*) measures 7 x 11 inches (178 x 280mm) which seems the standard size for his designs intended for Thomas Rose's *Chester, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham and Rutland Illustrated* (Fisher, 1836) such as two views of *Eaton Hall* both 7 x 11 inches, 178 x 280mm (number 112, www.abbottandholder.co.uk), *Chatsworth entrance, Derbyshire* 7 x 10 inches, 178 x 255mm (number 113, www.abbottandholder.co.uk) and *Radford Folly, Nottinghamshire* 7 x 11 inches, 178 x 280mm (number 114, www.abbottandholder.co.uk).

⁵⁷⁸ This information was taken from Peter Bicknell, *The picturesque scenery of the Lake District* (Winchester and Detroit, 1990), pp.138-141.

The small sizes of the steel plates may be contrasted to the large sized aquatints of Theodore Henry Adolphus Fieldings' *Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire Illustrated in a series of forty four engravings exhibiting Scenery of the Lakes* etc which was published in 1822, just before the advent of line engraving on steel and ten years before Thomas Rose's illustrated book, and comprising 44 hand-coloured aquatint views (16 ½ x 10 ½ inches, 420 x 267mm). 1822 was the highpoint of aquatint production, and as Peter Bicknell remarked 'the period from about 1810 to 1830 was the golden age of the coloured aquatint.' Bicknell considers this book by Fielding as one of the three Lake District colour-plate books illustrated with aquatints as outstanding, the others being William Westall's *Views of the Lake and of the Vale of Keswick*, published Rodwell and Martin, New Bond Street (1820) and T. H. Fielding and John Walton's *A picturesque tour of the English Lakes*, published R. Ackermann, 101, Strand (1821).⁵⁷⁹

The decline of the production of the coloured aquatint seems to coincide with the rise of production of the steel engraved image. However it is more likely that other methods of producing colour images such as Lithography were responsible for its decline (see below under Lithography). To put colour into illustrations was expensive. Lionel Lambourne wrote that 'In the 1820s a skilled colourist, working for the best publishers like Ackermann or M'Lean's, could earn as much as £12.10s per week tinting landscapes or colouring botanical plates'.⁵⁸⁰ Steel was much harder to engrave and it cannot be a coincidence that both Jones's *Metropolitan Improvements* (commencing in 1827) and the first four books published in Fisher's topographical series (commencing c. 1828-29) all contained two images per page. Often the engraver is the same person for both images, which gives one the idea that the publisher farmed out the work to selected reliable yet independent and freelance engravers rather than in house engravers. Engraving was also time consuming and, as seen in the letters between Robert Fisher and George Petrie, the publisher had a race against the clock to balance the work coming from the artists to the engravers and the actual production of the part-works and getting them to the public on schedule. The advantage of this system was that numerous people could be simultaneously engaged on producing the images. Indeed looking through some of Fisher's publications one sees that the firm used 30 to 40 different engravers on books such as *China Illustrated* and *France Illustrated*.

⁵⁷⁹ see Marlborough Rare Books *Catalogue 194* (2003) number 48, p.48, printed for Thomas M'Lean, no. 26 Haymarket, by Howlett & Brimmer, Columbian Press, number 10, Frith Street, Soho Square, 1822 and Peter Bicknell, *The picturesque scenery of the Lake District*, op. cit. p.16, and pp.114 (catalogue number 92), 121-125 (catalogue numbers 100 and 101).

⁵⁸⁰ See Lionel Lambourne's foreword (p.6) to Max E. Mitzman *George Baxter and the Baxter Prints* (Newton Abbot, London & North Pomfret, 1978).

Another comparison can be made more directly with a part work being published in 1832 north of the border in Scotland by the Glasgow publisher and engraver Joseph Swan. Each part of Swan's *Select Views of the Lakes of Scotland* cost 5s. 6d and contained 3 engravings. It was quarto in size measuring 9 x 11 ¼ inches, 228 x 285mm and the size of the engravings were 7 ½ x 5 inches, 190 x 127mm 'a size which affords ample scope for the proper delineation of every object embraced in the View' and the conditions on the wrapper stated that:

The whole will be completed in about 12 or 14 Parts. The Work is so printed, that it ranges with, and forms a suitable companion, not only to the *Views in Glasgow*, and *Views on the River Clyde*, already completed by the same Publisher but also with all the principal works of a similar kind published of late years.

Here the size of the engravings are larger than Fisher's 4 x 6 inches, 100 x 150mm. Yet Joseph Swan does the engraving himself, so it is expensive to produce and time consuming. The difference is in the price of the part-work. Here Swan is charging 5s. 6d for a part containing 3 engravings. The *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* part-works contained 4 highly finished engravings for a cover price of one shilling.

Text and Image.

The circular vignette title to volume I of *Langdale Pikes, Westmorland* after Allom, engraved by T. Jeavons and dated 1833 is particularly striking [fig. 114b]. Allom has achieved, by a clever use of perspective, a depth and vastness to the landscape. The eye is led from two boulders in the foreground, to a man and packhorse in the left middle foreground and a cross to the right middle foreground and then descends into a valley with plumes of smoke à la Thomas Girtin and a meandering river in between two mountain ranges topped by swirling cloud formations that gives the impression of being in a vortex.

The text (on page 5) begins with a fairly typical topographical explanation but ends in the third paragraph with a dramatic appeal to the sublime:

Langdale Pikes, situate at the western extremity of Westmorland, in the immediate vicinity of Bowfell, exhibit some of the principal characteristic features of lake and mountain scenery. Separated by a valley, through which runs the river Brathay, these hills rise on each side to an astonishing height, and form a vast amphitheatre, where the simple beauties of nature unite, in effect, with the loftier and more sublime creations of the Almighty hand.

The highest pike, known in the neighbourhood by the name of Harrison Stickle, is elevated 2,400 feet above the level of the sea; and the other, called Pike o'Stickle, 2,000 feet. From these hills, a fine blue slate is obtained, much of which is sent to London, and other parts of the kingdom.

In the fore-ground of the view, we notice fragments of rock which follow the windings of the road, and form a romantic entrance to the valley; the guide-post, indicating a connexion with the dwellings of man; and the lone traveller, with his laden beast, home returning, toil-worn and weary. Proceeding onward, we traverse the windings of the Brathay river, which at length terminate in a distant and narrow dell... feelings of reverence, of astonishment, of undefined pleasure, flow through the heart, as we fix our earnest gaze upon the surrounding hills. The lightnings have furrowed their sides with deep and awful ravines, the thunder-scars of a thousand tempests. Many, many winters have poured the snows upon their heads; as many summers have scorched with a noon-day sun. Still they remain in their place, asserting the wonders of creative power: a memento of past ages - a record for a future race of men.

Sometimes the text compares the lake and mountain scenery to Switzerland or the Alps, for example Rose's description of *Eskdale, looking towards Scarfell*: 'many a Swiss or Alpine prospect accounted "beautiful exceedingly", would sink into insipidity beside it' and again with his description of *Birker Force, Cumberland* (page 124) - Allom's watercolour of *Birker Force* was exhibited in 1834 at the Royal Society of British Artists (no. 154):

the height of the fall is comparatively inconsiderable; but... the tourist will be highly gratified with the spectacle. The rocks in which it is situated, assume a glacier-like appearance; and the fir and larch trees which cluster round their bases, unite with them in producing a truly Alpine effect. Indeed, such another scene is not to be met with in the Lake district, wherein the most admired features of the continental picturesque are blended with the rich and varied forms that comprise an English landscape.

However Rose reserves his invective on foreign scenery for his commentary on *The Ferry House and Regatta, Windermere Lake* (T.Allom and engraved by J.Starling):

In connexion with the present subject, it may not be amiss to institute an enquiry, why foreign scenery should be sought out with such eagerness, and the, at least, not less lovely pictures presented in our native land disregarded. Is the former visited with less inconvenience? Are the facilities for enjoyment greater abroad? Is continental scenery so "beautiful exceedingly", that all natural loveliness beside must fade before it? We will see. Italy is the gathering-place of connoisseurs in the sublime and beautiful: let us follow the tourist to this "bright spot on earth", and judge of his enjoyments.

First, the conveniences of travelling. The visitor to Italy must produce his passport at almost every trifling village he passes through, and submit it to inspection of a demi-military turnpike-keeper, who will expect a gratuity for his gentlemanly forbearance, in not emptying the traveller's trunks, and scattering his wardrobe to the winds. Moreover, he may be detained an hour or two on his journey, to allow sufficiency of time for the official examination. Then there are the exorbitant charges, and the cringing devotions, of the inn-keepers to *mi lor Anglais*. Added to these, the annoyances which occur every time you pass from one petty state into another, the attendant losses in exchange of money, the swarms of filthy lazars that beset the unfortunate tourist at every turn, the miry or dusty roads, the unpaved streets, the pestilential effluvia that poisons the air of the towns, etc -.

Secondly the facilities for enjoyment. Begin with bugs, fleas, gnats, musquitos, and scorpions, who seem in classic land to have a marvellous predilection for English blood. Then the pleasurable emotions excited by the sudden appearance of a brigand: however, we will pass this over slightly; there is something so romantic and interesting in a *tete-a-tete* with an Italian robber, that we have perhaps no right to call the tourist's enjoyment in question; besides, if in the sequel he should be shot, or his throat should be cut, immortality is obtained at once. -

Thirdly, the surpassing beauty of Italian scenery. On this head listen to the observations of a writer in the *Literary Gazette*, to whose sensible remarks we are indebted for the present exposé. "The mountains of the Apennines are less varied and romantic than some of our mountains in North Wales. The almost interminable levels and marshes in Italy, may find a parallel in Lincolnshire; but their plantations, their palaces and villas, jutting out from open fields unadorned by the graceful investiture of pleasure-gardens, are not to be compared with the rich, verdant, and various scenery of England".

Let the tourist, then, assure himself of this: he will meet, in his own country, with picturesque beauty yet more magnificent than that of Italy; while in the articles of cleanliness, domestic comfort, excellent provisions, moderate charges, and all the inter alia requisites for convenience and enjoyment, Italy will bear no comparison with England. Let him pause, then, "before he quits a land in which the beauties of nature and the refinements of comfort abound, and undertakes a journey of a thousand miles, to sojourn in a country which is, at least, a hundred years behind his own in all that regards the substantial enjoyments and the decorums of life; and before he lavishes that wealth which is drawn from the industry of his countrymen, among foreigners, who dislike him for everything but his money".

Rose's appeal to Englishmen to stay at home and enjoy the delights of England may be contrasted to a similar outburst from John Britton in his *Picturesque Antiquities of the English Cities* (London, 1836) where he states in his introduction (p.vii):

With such historical subjects at home, it is to be regretted that our countrymen are too much in the habit of travelling to foreign kingdoms, before they are at all familiar with the characteristics of their own nation. The far-famed antiquities of Egypt, Greece and Italy etc. are certainly highly attractive and interesting; but their general features are rendered more familiar to us, by the researches of learned travellers, and the illustrations of artists, than many of the antiquities of Wales, of Scotland, of Cornwall, and of Yorkshire.

The comments from the text on the engravings indicate that the image was executed first and the text follows, for example: *Carlisle, Cumberland* (T.Allom, R.Sands):

The illustrative view taken from Etterby Scar, comprehends the castle and cathedral; and discovers the river Eden skirting the eminence, forming the foreground of the scene. The lowing herd are ruminating in the rich meadows, bounded by the distant hills; and the patient anglers complete this picture of rural quietude and olden grandeur. (text p.8, engraving facing p.7).

For *Hartlepool, Durham* (T.Allom, Wm. Le Petit) Rose comments:

Our engraving exhibits the south wall of the town, and the distant pier... In the fore-ground the artist has introduced a variety of detail connected with the fishing trade. The group, at some little distance on the right hand, appear to be assorting their fish; while those immediately before us are busily engaged in their several occupations.

This would tend to suggest little direct communication between the artist and author. This engraving is paired with *Durham* (T.Allom, E.Challis), a striking close up view of Framwellgate Bridge, the River Wear with the Castle and Cathedral above [fig. 115]. Allom creates a similar view of *Durham from the South* (T.Allom, S.Lacey) [fig. 116b] and later *Durham from the North East* (T.Allom, W.Le Petit) these views may be compared with those of other artists such as Edward Dayes view of *Durham* for Britton's *Beauties of England and Wales* dated 1801 [fig. 116a]. Rose adds that 'the setting sun sheds a warm glow over these splendid erections of departed days...'. As the setting sun is not clearly in evidence on the engraving it may be the case that Rose had prior views of Allom's original watercolour designs or, at least, the artist's notes. The same may be said for *Grassmere Lake* by Pickering, where the letter-press indicates that 'the time selected by the artist for taking the view is shortly after sunrise...'.

There are also frequent allusions and quotations from literary works and particularly Poetry. A good example is the commentary to *Dungeon Gill, Westmorland* (T.Allom, W.Tombleson) 'The engraving is illustrative of an interesting poem, by Wordsworth, founded on the fact of a lamb having fallen into the basin of the cataract, whence it was taken unhurt' [fig. 117]. Many other quotes come from Wordsworth's *Excursion*. For *Brougham Hall* (T.Allom, W.Taylor) Rose remarks that 'the figure in the fore-ground of the view, will be easily recognized, as being that of the modern Gracchus himself', viz Lord Brougham (the Lord Chancellor) with small dog [fig. 118].

For *Bowness and Windermere Lake, Westmorland* (T.Allom, W. Le Petit) Rose adds, on page 26, that:

Of the Fisher family, formerly of considerable note in this place, and from whom the proprietor and publisher of this work is descended, tradition records many remarkable incidents and anecdotes during the turbulent reign of Charles I, and through the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.

For *Castle Eden Hall, Durham* (T.Allom. T.Jeavons) Rose comments 'the artist has here introduced, with considerable taste and good effect, what is called a gypsy party' - basically seven small figures animate the foreground. Some engravings go into incredible detail such as the bustling street view *Newcastle from the 'Side'* (T.Allom, M.J.Starling) where in the centre foreground is a laden wagon with 'Pickersgill, Road Waggon, York, Leeds' written on the side. On the right the shop signs read: 'P.Milles, Hetherington and Newcastle Coffee Rooms, Dinners, Soups, Tea, Coffee' etc.

In the plate *Sand Hill, Newcastle upon Tyne* (T.Allom, J.Sands) shop fronts include J.W. Yellowley, Norwich Union, Robert Jackson at number 21, C. Currie, W. Procter and North British Fire Office. Industry is not left out either with a view of *Lymington Iron Works of Messrs. Bulmer and Company* (p.157) and various slate works and mines, such as *Long Sleddale Slate Quarry, Westmorland* (p.197) and *Thrang Crag Slate Quarry* (p.78).

Part Publication.

The work was also published in 26 parts as parts 10-35 of the Fourth Series of Fisher's *Picturesque Illustrations of Great Britain and Ireland* which suggests that Fisher had begun this series with *Ireland Illustrated* as the first series, then *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* as the second series and *Lancashire Illustrated* as the third series. In part 10 the

publishers announced that the first portion comprising the first volume would be ready by December 1832. Part 16 advertised volume two which was published in October 1834 and part 17 stated that volume three would be published in December 1835. The *Literary Gazette* of 1834 (p. 611) advertises Fisher's *Picturesque Illustrations of Great Britain and Ireland*, the fourth series Part 15: eight well-selected and beautifully executed views in Durham, Westmorland, Cumberland and Northumberland from drawings by Mr Allom. It adds: 'Artists sometimes give droll titles to their works. The whimsicality of *Patterdale going towards Ambleside* (T.Allom, W. Taylor) is greatly heightened by the apparition in the foreground of a horseman at full gallop, endeavouring to outride a violent storm by which he is closely pursued'.

Re-issues, Adaptations and Translations.

Volume One was reissued in 1834 as *Gage d'Amitié. The Northern Tourist with seventy three views of Lake and Mountain Scenery etc, in Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland*, having a leaf after the title containing a Preface, dated November 1834 and a list of plates. This was advertised in the *Literary Gazette* of 1834 (p. 806) and sold in London by Fisher, Son & Co, Simpkin & Marshall, Longman & Co, Whittaker & Co and Charles Tilt. Wakeman sold it in Dublin, Oliphant in Edinburgh and Ogle in Glasgow.

This version was also translated into French (as well as German) as *Gage d'Amitié: Itinéraire Pittoresque au nord de L'Angleterre contenant soixante treize vues des Lacs, des Montagnes, des Chateaux etc, des comtés de Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham et Northumberland accompagnés des notices historiques et topographiques en français, en anglais et en allemand*. Translated by J.F. Gérard for H. Fisher, R. Fisher, et P. Jackson (London, 1834). The German edition was: *Wanderungen im Norden von England mit Ansichten der Landsee- und Gebirg-Gegenden der Grafschaften Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham und Northumberland*. Translated by Jacob Edwin Stahlschmidt and sold by Asher (Berlin, 1834).

5.5 Views in the Tyrol (Charles Tilt, 1833).

There are five editions of *Views of the Tyrol* but the earliest was published by Charles Tilt (London, 1833) and, although not published by Fisher, it was Thomas Allom's next work and his first of foreign scenery. Although the drawings are by Allom (46 plates) they are after original sketches by Johanna von Isser (1802-80) and the anonymous author was actually Baron Josef von Hornmayr. Between 1828 and 1842 Johanna von Isser drew almost all the

Castles and Palaces of the Tyrol and Vorarlberg region from which this book is derived as well as views of Castles in the Trent region.⁵⁸¹ The *Literary Gazette* of 1834 (p.869) has a notice of *Views in the Tyrol* from drawings by T.Allom, Number One, Tilt (thus indicating it was sold in parts) and stating 'We have frequently had occasion to admire and praise the talent and taste of Mr Allom, especially as displayed in *Fisher's Picturesque Illustrations of Great Britain and Ireland*: and we are glad to find that, by the publication under our notice, an opportunity will be afforded him for the exhibition of those qualities with reference to the representation of foreign scenery'. The first number contained three plates: *Taufenberg* (Thomas Allom, S. Lacey); *Vorst* (Thomas Allom, S. Lacey) and *Zwingenberg* (Thomas Allom, J.C. Varrall). The total work was issued in 20 numbers. This suggests that each number probably contained 2 plates. The engraving of *Tarantisperg* [fig. 119] comes from a later edition by Tombleson c. 1836.

One might ask what prompted the publishers in publishing a work on the Tyrol? The answer may be twofold. Firstly it was now possible to travel easily through the Alps. This was not just thanks to the engineering works and building of roads through the Alps by Napoleon's engineers, but this work had been continued after Napoleon's defeat, for example by order of the Austrian Emperor, anxious to link his German and Italian possessions. Hence the Brenner Pass that linked Innsbruck to Verona by way of the Tyrol. Secondly the author of the book was said to be 'a companion of Hofer' and Andreas Hofer had been a local Tyrolese resistance leader against the combined forces of the French and Bavarian armies in 1809. Thus a Romantic element creeps in here. Another *Views in the Tyrol* with a set of 24 views had been published fourteen years earlier in 1819 by John Murray, engraved by W.B. Cooke from drawings by Peter De Wint and published in parts.⁵⁸²

Jakob Alt (1789-1872) and his son Rudolf Alt (1812-1905) are best known for their watercolours of most the regions of the Austrian Empire between 1830-1849 commissioned by Archduke Ferdinand, the future Emperor Ferdinand I of Austria.⁵⁸³ However there are a number of steel-engravings of Austrian and German scenes which bear their names and those of British engravers. The following illustrations come from *Die malerischen und*

⁵⁸¹ for Johanna von Isser see Ulla Fischer-Westhauser, *Osterreich in alten Ansichten* (Vienna, 2005) pp.178,180,184 and Carlo Perogalli and Giovanni Battista a Prato, *Castelli Trentini nelle vedute di Johanna von Isser Grossrubatscher* (Trent, 1987).

⁵⁸² A broadsheet advertisement 11 x 8 inches (275 x 200 mm) proclaimed 'On 1st March 1819 will be published Part One of *Views in the Tyrol* engraved by W.B. Cooke from drawings by P. De Wint', published by John Murray, Albermarle Street and W.B. Cooke, 13 Judd Place East, New Road, 1819. Information courtesy of Grosvenor Prints, London.

⁵⁸³ Klaus Albrecht Schroder and Marie Luise Sternath (edited), *Jakob and Rudolf von Alt - At His Majesty's Service*, Exhibition catalogue, Albertina (Vienna, 2010).

romantischen Donauländer (*Picturesque and Romantic Scenery of the Donauländer*, 'Donauländer' meaning Austrian/German parts of the Danube and not its modern meaning of the Danube region) by Eduard Duller (1809-53)⁵⁸⁴ and published by Georg Wigand, Leipzig 1838-40.⁵⁸⁵ It consisted of 60 steel engraved plates including the following examples: *Salzburg* after Rudolf Alt, engraved by J. J. Hinchliff [fig. 120]; *Baden* after Jakob Alt, engraved by S. Lacey [fig. 121]; *Klostergang in Berchtesgaden* after Alt, engraved by Henry Winkles [fig. 122]; *Urtelstein bei Baden* after Alt, engraved by Henry Winkles [fig. 123] and *Persenbeug* after Alt and engraved by Henry Winkles [fig. 124]. As Hunnisett remarked 'German publications in the 1830s relied heavily on inputs from English engravers... Steel engraving arrived in Germany from England in 1825'. Carl Ludwig Frommel (1789-1863) was a German painter, draughtsman and engraver from Karlsruhe who visited London and possibly saw the beginnings of steel engraving among engravers such as Charles Heath, the Winkles and Tombleson families during the mid 1820s. Frommel opened a steel-engraving workshop in Karlsruhe c. 1824-1825 together with the London engraver Henry Winkles (1801-1860).⁵⁸⁶ Earlier Jakob Alt had from 1813-20 made watercolour designs which were turned into copper engravings for *Mahlerische und merkwürdige Ansichten der verschiedenen Provinzen der Oesterreichischen Monarchie und der benachbarten Länder* (*Picturesque and remarkable views of the various Provinces of the Austrian Monarchy and its neighbouring countries*) as well as contributing to *Mahlerische Reise durch die schonster Alpengegenden des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates* (*Picturesque Journey through the most beautiful Alpine Regions of the Austrian Empire*) between 1811-21.

By 1836 the *Literary Gazette* was advertising Allom's *Views of the Tyrol* alongside Tombleson's *Views of the Rhine*, both published by Black and Armstrong who specialised in trade with Germany and were 'Foreign booksellers to the King' (see Appendix 3, no.5 for all the editions of Allom's *Views in the Tyrol*). By 1840 *Views in the Tyrol* were advertised as being sold by Tombleson in English, French and German versions.

Brockedon's Alps.

Five years before Tilt's publication William Brockedon (1787-1854) published *Illustrations of the Passes of the Alps* (London, 1828-29). Brockedon's chief exploit had been to cross the

⁵⁸⁴ Duller is best known for his anti-Jesuit book *The Jesuits as they were and are* translated from the German by Mrs Stanley Carr and published by Seeley, Burnside and Seeley, London, 1845.

⁵⁸⁵ Hunnisett, *Engraved on Steel* (1998), op. cit, p. 262, mentions Wigand and Duller but not this book.

⁵⁸⁶ Basil Hunnisett, *Engraved on Steel. The History of Picture Production using Steel Plates* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 242-243 and Valerie Browne Lester, 'Phiz, Dickens and London' Gresham College Lecture on 28 November 2006 - www.Gresham.ac.uk.

Alps by 24 passes into Italy and he was forever linked with this achievement. In July to September 1824 he had journeyed within the French, Swiss and Italian Alps with Clarkson Stanfield. The book, in two volumes, is lavishly illustrated after designs by Brockedon and engraved chiefly by Edward Finden as well as J.C. Varrall, C. Westwood, Robert Brandard, T. Barber, Jas. Redaway, J.T. Willmore, T. Jeavons, S. Rawle, W. Wallis and J. Kernot. Brockedon had also published a *Traveller's Guide to Italy or Road-Book from London to Naples* (London, c.1831) full of practical information. Indeed W.H. Bartlett in one of his letters to Dr Beattie suggests they consult Brockedon and in a letter to John Britton he asks for the loan of Brockedon's *Paper of the Alps*.⁵⁸⁷ As Brockedon notes in his introduction to his *Road-Book*: 'Since 1815, a stream of visitors, composed of the learned, the studious, the rich and the idle has flowed from London to Rome'.⁵⁸⁸

Later in 1837 Virtue published *The Waldenses or Protestant Valleys of Piedmont and Dauphiny* with text by Dr William Beattie and illustrations by W.H. Bartlett and W. Brockedon. In Beattie's *Preface*, written in December 1837, he mentions that:

the route of Henri Arnaud across the Alps was successfully explored by Mr Brockedon in person, for the express object of illustrating that portion of the work which treats of the Expedition.

5.6 Views in India, China and on the Shores of the Red Sea (H. Fisher, R. Fisher & P. Jackson, 1835).

As was seen supra (5.3) this book originally came out under Captain Robert Elliot's name as *Views in the East; comprising India, Canton, and the Shores of the Red Sea* published in book form by H. Fisher, Son & Co. in 1833 (2 volumes comprising a total of 60 engravings) but some of the plates are dated from 1830 [fig. 125]. The change in title and the addition of Emma Roberts' name comes in about 1834. To alter a title may well be one of the stock-in-trade sleights of hand which allowed the publishers to re-issue works and to continue the life of the plates. Among the part works advertised as in the course of publication *The Literary Gazette* for 1834 has: 'Just Published Parts I & II of Fisher's *Views in India, China, and on the Shores of the Red Sea*, price 2 shillings with 4 Engravings'.

The Preface to the book is dated January 31st, 1833 and it states:

⁵⁸⁷ See Appendix 1, Section IV, Letter 2 and letter 9.

⁵⁸⁸ William Brockedon, *Traveller's Guide to Italy or Road-Book from London to Naples* (London, c.1831), p.2. Later, in 1839, the reprint specialist Henry Bohn bought, as remainders, the stock of Brockedon's *Illustrations of the Passes of the Alps*, see B. Hunnisett, *Steel-engraved book illustration in England* (1980), op. cit, pp. 168-169.

The original sketches, from which the Engravings in these Volumes have been produced, were made on the spot in the years 1822, 1823, and 1824, and profess to be faithful delineations of the scenes that they are meant to represent. Artists of eminence were engaged in preparing the Drawings, and Engravers of well-known skill have been employed in completing the work.

The 1835 book mentions the artists by name on the title page: drawn by S. Prout, C. Stanfield, T. Boys, G. Cattermole, J. S. Cotman, D. Cox, F. Finch, W. Purser &c, &c., (they leave out C. Fielding) whereas the 1833 edition simply has a list of plates.

The professional artists, who had never been out East, were recruited to re-draw from the amateur work of Captain Elliot. *Arnold's Magazine of the Fine Arts* was critical of the finished result and in a review of Parts I to VI of Fisher's *Views in the East* complains that the *Taj Mahal at Agra* (S.Prout, Robert Wallis dated 1830, number 8 in volume 1) is 'thrown so far back into the background that we can only admire its general mass, and the picturesque grouping of its cupolas', it adds 'the Taj Mahal hardly occupies a square inch'. For the engraving *Tiger Island* (C. Stanfield, Edward Goodall dated 1830): 'an extremely clever and spirited engraving, and the water, vessels, and figures, are touched in a sparkling manner. Stanfield is quite at home in such a subject and has evidently treated it con amore; nor has Goodall been less successful in engraving it'. However the main criticism is that:

The drawings should have been made thus at second-hand by artists in England, who must have been entirely guided by Captain Elliot's sketches. Whatever may have been gained by this process with regard to effect, we very much doubt whether something may not have been lost in point of veracity; and to say the truth, some of the TREES appear now and then to have too much the air of ENGLISH ones.⁵⁸⁹

By 1832 ten parts out of a projected fifteen parts had been published according to Fisher's advert in the back of volume two of *Polynesian Researches*. The new version, advertised in *The Literary Gazette* of 1835, was published in two quarto volumes with 64 engravings, as Fisher's *Views in India, China, and on the Shores of the Red Sea*: drawn by Samuel Austin, T.S.Boys, George Cattermole, David Cox, John Sell Cotman, Copley Fielding, Finch (there are actually none by him), William Purser, Samuel Prout, Clarkson Stanfield etc, from original sketches by Commander Robert Elliot, R.N. Engraved by Goodall, Finden, R. Wallis, Miller, Woolnoth, Floyd, Le Petit, Heath, Higham, Cooke etc... with descriptions by Emma Roberts. London: H. Fisher, R. Fisher & P. Jackson, 1835. Each volume was priced at 21 shillings.⁵⁹⁰ A French version was published with the title: *Vues Pittoresques de l'Inde, de la Chine et des bords de la Mer Rouge, dessinées par Prout, Stanfield, Cattermole, Purser, Cox,*

⁵⁸⁹ *Arnold's Magazine*, Vol I, no. 2, March 1831 pp. 152-154.

⁵⁹⁰ See Advertisement in *The Literary Gazette*, 7 March 1835 (number 946), p.158 under List of Fisher's Publications.

Austin etc, sur les Esquisses Originales du Commodore Robert Elliot, H. Fischer [sic], London, 1835.

The advertisement states:

The Proprietors of the present work feel convinced that they are opening up an endless source of delight to all who possess inquiring minds.

There is one plate after Thomas Allom: *Tomb of Ibrahim Padshah, Bejapore* (T. Allom, T. Higham dated 1832, in volume II no.21 of *Views in the East* and dated 1835 in *Views in India*) [fig. 126]. *Ruins about the Taj Mahal, Agra* after S. Austin (vol.I, no.10 in *Views in the East*) has a change of engraver from T. Higham (dated 1831) to E. Challis (dated 1835)[fig. 127] which is puzzling, although this plate was the only one marked with 'proof' in the first edition. George Cattermole has seven designs in volume II including *Front View of the Bisma Kurn, Caves of Ellora* engraved by Wm. Taylor (no. 8 and dated 1833 and 1834 in the second edition) [fig. 128]. Samuel Prout contributed 16 designs in total including: *Excavated Temple of Kylas - Caves of Ellora* engraved by E. Challis (vol.II, no.6 and dated 1833 and 1834 in the second edition) [fig. 129] and *Triad Figures, Interior of Elephanta* engraved by W. Woolnoth (vol.II, no.12 and both versions dated 1833) [fig. 130].

In the last quarter of the 18th century there had been quite a tradition of artists going out to India including William Hodges and William and Thomas Daniell. Later in the early 19th century George Chinnery arrived in India to establish his name as a portraitist. William Hodges' *Select Views in India*, drawn on the spot, in the years 1780-83 comprised of 48 double-page aquatint plates in a large folio edition (London, 1786). The aquatints (large size at 320 x 477 mm) were sold in fours and cost an expensive £1.10s.⁵⁹¹ Now Fisher's engravings were available at two shillings for four. Hodges' views are romantic and picturesque than the more architecturally accurate plates of the Daniells: Thomas and William Daniell, *Oriental Scenery. One hundred and fifty views of the architecture, antiquities, and landscape scenery of Hindoostan* (London, 1795-1808 and in a reduced format edition 1812-1816), containing 144 aquatint plates; and *A Picturesque Voyage to India by way of China* published by Longmans (London, 1810) in folio with 50 handcoloured aquatint plates.⁵⁹² Ackermann had produced coloured views *Along the Rivers Ganges and Jumna* in 1824. Yet

⁵⁹¹ Mentioned and illustrated in Timothy Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802* (New Haven and London, 1997), pp.232-233, illustration no. 248.

⁵⁹² Source for Daniells' Books, Bernard Shapero Rare Books, *Spring Miscellany*, 2004, pp.9-10 and see <http://www.goethals.org/daniell.htm>.

these views were now dated and Fisher must have seen a commercial advantage in producing a cheaper more wider-ranging title, illustrated by contemporary artists, at a time when public interest was focused on Britain's ever increasing overseas interests. Certainly, a few years later, the remainder and reprint specialist Henry Bohn saw an advantage in 1841 of reissuing *Oriental Scenery* as well as a cheaper reduced format edition. Henry Bohn described *Oriental Scenery* as "the most magnificent series of views ever produced in this, or any other country".⁵⁹³

The rise of Travel Illustration in the 1830s.

Rival illustrated publications for 1834 include the beginning of William Beattie's *Switzerland Illustrated*, illustrated in a series of views by W.H. Bartlett. Part One published by George Virtue. The *Literary Gazette* commented: 'Mr Bartlett has long established his character as a draughtsman, and Mr Wallis (by whom and under whose direction, the plates are to be executed) as an engraver...'. This is the same Robert Wallis who superintended the engraving of Fisher's *Lancashire Illustrated* (see 5.2). The vignette title page depicts a *Swiss Cottage* [fig. 37] and the views are of *Thun with Bernese Alps; Zurich; Castle of Spiez, Lake of Thun; Val d'Ossola*. Already in November 1832 Bartlett and his wife had travelled, at their own expense, to Paris and Switzerland. It seems Beattie and Bartlett were planning their publication since March 1832 (see letters 7 and 9 in Appendix 1, section IV). Another Bartlett illustrated volume was T. Barber's *Picturesque Illustrations of the Isle of Wight*, 41 engravings from original drawings by W.H. Bartlett, published by Simpkin & Marshall, Stationers Hall Court, London, 1835, which suggests Bartlett was busy with the project the year before in 1834.

Spain.

The *Literary Gazette* of 1834, in reviewing Jennings' *Landscape Annual The Tourist in Spain - Granada* with letter-press by Thomas Roscoe and designs by David Roberts, commented that Spain was comparatively 'untrodden ground' and that the 21 plates and ten wood-engravings after David Roberts were a 'picturesque and romantic series of views'. The price for a volume bound in green morocco was £1.1s.⁵⁹⁴ Roberts had gone out to Spain and Morocco on an eleventh month sketching trip in 1832 which represents his first important trip abroad.

⁵⁹³ Quote from 1847 taken from Bernard Shapero Rare Books, *Catalogue* (2002), no. 198, pp.100-101.

⁵⁹⁴ *Literary Gazette*, 1834, pp. 664 & 676. For a selected list of Annuals see Appendix 2.

John Frederick Lewis travelled in Spain between the summer of 1832 and the spring of 1834. He preceded his friend, David Roberts, by a couple of months and spent most of his time in Andalucia. His Spanish works, exhibited between 1837-40, earned him the nickname 'Spanish Lewis' (to distinguish him from his brother 'Indian' Lewis). His subjects tended not to be pure landscapes but figure studies and portraits; the street scenes are frames for his figures and are not primarily architectural or topographical works. Richard Ford's letter of introduction to the British ambassador, dated 17 July 1832, explains that:

Mr Lewis, a clever artist... is about to make a sort of picturesque tour of Spain, having orders for young ladies' albums and from divers book-sellers who are illustrating Lord Byron.⁵⁹⁵

Ford, of course, was later to produce Murray's celebrated *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845) and was very generous in encouraging George Borrow to publish *The Bible in Spain*. Lewis produced two books from his travels: *Lewis's Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra made during a Residence in Granada in the years 1833-34* published by F.G. Moon and J.F. Lewis (London, 1835) with 26 lithographs, drawn on stone by Lewis (x 8) and others by J.D. Harding, R.J. Lane, A.R.A., and W. Gauci and printed by Hullmandel and *Lewis's Sketches of Spain and Spanish Character made during his tour of that country in the years 1833-34* published by F.G. Moon and F.G. Lewis (London, 1836) with 24 lithographs by Lewis, printed by Hullmandel. During his return to England from Spain Lewis stopped in Paris and visited Callow in his studio in 1834 and also worked on his Spanish paintings.⁵⁹⁶ John Sell Cotman wrote to his friend and patron Dawson Turner on seeing Lewis's paintings from Spain:

At the Thatched House I saw about 300 most splendid drawings by Lewis. Words cannot convey to you their splendour. My poor Reds, Blues and Yellows are but faded fades to what I saw there.⁵⁹⁷

George Borrow first visited Spain in 1836-37 as a representative of the British and Foreign Bible Society. His book *The Bible in Spain* published by John Murray (London, 1842) was, according to his biographer, Herbert Jenkins, 'the book that was to electrify the religious reading public and make famous its writer'. During the writing of the book, Richard Ford offered Borrow advice about what the public wanted to read:

What the world wants are racy, real, genuine scenes, and the more out of the way the better... new facts seen in new and strange countries will please everybody; but old scenery, even Cintra, will not, we know all about that and want something that we do not know... the grand thing is to be bold and to avoid the common track of the silver paper, silver fork, blue stocking. Give us adventure, wild

⁵⁹⁵ M. Lewis, *John Frederick Lewis, R.A (1805-1876)*, (London, 1978), p. 16.

⁵⁹⁶ *ibid.* p.17.

⁵⁹⁷ *ibid* p.18 and in S.D. Kitson, *The Life of John Sell Cotman* (London, 1937), p. 306.

adventure, journals, thirty language book, sorcery, jews, gentiles, rambles and the *interior* of Spanish prisons... no author has yet given us a Spanish prison.⁵⁹⁸

Ford added that he thought *The Bible in Spain* was 'Gil Blas with a touch of Bunyan'.⁵⁹⁹

The year 1834 saw Thomas Allom mentioned at two important events. Firstly the *Literary Gazette* mentions an Architectural Society Conversazione: 'Tuesday evening, 21st last month, the first conversazione of the Season at Exeter Hall'... where 250 people gathered to 'Establish a British School of Architecture'. The *Gazette* mentions that there were two very beautiful interiors by Allom and those present included Richard Westmacott, William Etty, Basevi, Captain Grindlay and John Britton.⁶⁰⁰

Allom was also one of the subscribers to a Testimonial to Sir John Soane. This took the form of a medal of Soane by Francis Chantrey with the Bank of England on the reverse. Subscribers were entitled to two tickets. Under the list of subscribers listed alphabetically, and after Thomas Allom, appear the names of Sir William Beechy, Charles Barry, John Britton, Decimus Burton, Augustus Wall Callcott, Charles Eastlake, William Etty, William Finden, J.H. Hakewill, Samuel Higham, H.E. Kendall (17 Suffolk Street, Pall Mall East, member of the Committee), H.E. Kendall junior, James Moon, P.F. Robinson (29 Lower Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, member of the Committee), Sir Martin Archer Shee, Charles Stanfield A.R.A., J.M.W. Turner, Thomas Uwins and Richard Westmacott.⁶⁰¹

Allom would have been on familiar terms with some of the other subscribers. In 1835 Allom was elected as one of the early members (associate member) of the Institute of British Architects. He had been nominated in 1834 by Henry Kendall and P.F. Robinson, the two committee members for the Sir John Soane Testimonial.⁶⁰² Allom had already collaborated on lithographic perspectives in several publications for Robinson (see Appendix 3, section III) and Allom knew both Henry Kendall senior (District Surveyor of the Parish of St Martin's in the Fields) and was to enter a competition with Henry Kendall junior in 1838 to design the

⁵⁹⁸ Herbert Jenkins, *The Life of George Borrow* (London, 1924), pp 342 and 350.

⁵⁹⁹ Jenkins, op. cit. p.353.

⁶⁰⁰ *Literary Gazette* 1834 p.97. The Architectural Society Conversazione were started in October 1831. Captain Grindlay supplied drawings for *Views in India, chiefly among the Himalaya mountains* (Fisher, 1836). Basevi is George Basevi (1794-1845), architect and favourite pupil of Sir John Soane. Between 1816-19 he travelled in Europe particularly Italy and Greece. Some of his drawings of Greece, made March to December 1818, are in the Sir John Soane Museum. Basevi was cousin to Benjamin Disraeli. He developed the east side of Belgrave Square c.1827 as reported in Britton and Pugin's *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London* (London, 1825-28) engraving no.134, G.B. Moore del., J. Le Keux sculp., 1828: see Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated*, op. cit. p.355.

⁶⁰¹ *Literary Gazette*, March 1834, p.230.

⁶⁰² see Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op.cit. p.58 and note 119 p.109 where Brooks mentions that the Nomination Papers are held at RIBA, vol 1, 5 December, 1834.

West of London and Westminster Cemetery, Brompton (Brompton Cemetery), of which they exhibited a model at the Royal Academy in 1839.⁶⁰³

In 1835 Thomas Allom was elected as a member of the Artist's Annuity Fund (William Finden was President 1834-36), which had originally begun as the Society of Engravers in 1802 to care for the aged, infirm, widows and orphans of engravers. As he had not qualified as an architect he is listed as a landscape painter and not as an architectural draughtsman.⁶⁰⁴ The majority of members listed were engravers but there are at least twenty established artists including: Thomas Shotter Boys (elected 1839 and listed as draughtsman), George Cruikshank (1829), Henry Corbould (1830), Edward Henry Corbould (1841), Edward William Cooke (1834), Thomas Hartley Cromek (1836), William Callow (1840), Anthony Vandyke Copley Fielding (1818), John Frederick Lewis (1831), William Leighton Leitch (1841), William Mulready (1810), Frederick Mackenzie (1814), William Oliver (1836), Samuel Prout (1828), David Roberts (1828), W. Clarkson Stanfield (1827), James Stephanoff (1823) and Francis Philip Stephanoff (1823). Perhaps given that these artists created many designs with the engraver in mind this explains the link with the Artist's Annuity Fund.

The importance of colour Lithography - a rival process to steel engraving.

Following the success of 'Spanish' Lewis as seen above, in 1837, Roberts' *Picturesque Sketches in Spain*, taken during the years 1832 and 1833, was published with lithographs including three by Allom after Roberts as well as the title page drawn on stone by T.Allom. It was published by Hodgson & Graves and printed at C. Hullmandel's Lithographic establishment, 49 Great Marlborough Street, London.⁶⁰⁵ The engraved dedication carries on its verso a list of plates with the lithographers being T.S. Boys, W.Gauci, T.Allom, T.S. Cooper, L. Haghe and D. Roberts.⁶⁰⁶ Two years later in 1839 George Vivian's *Scenery of Portugal and Spain* was published by Colnaghi with 33 lithographs by L. Haghe.⁶⁰⁷ The Lithographs measured 250 x 180 mm (10 x 7 inches). Clarkson Stanfield's *Sketches on the Moselle, the Rhine and the Meuse* was published in 1838 by Hodgson and Graves with

⁶⁰³ Royal Academy Exhibition 1839, number 1265. It is revealing to note that Francis Goodwin (died 1835), Henry Kendall senior and junior and Thomas Allom are all buried in Kensal Green Cemetery along with many friends, associates and colleagues. There is a lithograph by Allom of Goodwin's design for the Grand National Cemetery in the Sir John Soane Museum, Drawer 59, set 2, no.29. Also see Appendix 3, section III under other lithographs numbers 9 and 10. Henry Kendall senior designed the villa of T.R. Kemp Esq. M.P. in Belgrave Square in c.1826 as reported in Britton and Pugin's *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London* (London, 1825-28), engraving no. 136 & 137, T.W. Atkinson del., G. Gladwin sculp., March 1827: see Bernard Adams, *Illustrated London*, op. cit. p.355.

⁶⁰⁴ See John Pye, *Patronage of British Art* (London, 1845) p.392. My Appendix 6 lists engravers who were members of the AAF.

⁶⁰⁵ Vivien Noakes, *Edward Lear, The Life of a Wanderer*, 4th revised edition (London, 2004) notes that the young 18 year old Edward Lear met J.M.W. Turner at Hullmandel's studio in 1830, note 37, p.331.

⁶⁰⁶ See copy of *Picturesque Sketches in Spain* at Royal Academy of Arts, record number 06/4791 www.racollection.org.uk.

⁶⁰⁷ see British Library copy, shelfmark 648.c.4.

lithographs by L. Haghe, Thomas Shotter Boys, W. Gauci and A. Picken. Thomas Shotter Boys' *Picturesque Architecture in Paris, Ghent, Antwerp and Rouen* was published in a large folio edition in 1839, the lithographs were printed in London by Charles Hullmandel. In fact the book was dedicated 'To C. Hullmandel Esq, in acknowledgement of his many great improvements and highly important discoveries in Lithography. This work forming another epoch and presenting entirely new capabilities of the Art is dedicated by his sincere friend, Thomas Shotter Boys'. Indeed, in the Descriptive Notice, Boys is at pains to point out the unique nature of his lithographs, these 'printed drawings', produced by a process 'entirely new to the public... that have been mistaken for water-colour drawings, or prints wrought up by the hand of the Colourer in imitation of the originals'. The lithographs are:

Printed with oil-colours, and come from the press precisely as they now appear. It was expressly stipulated by the Publisher that not a touch should be added afterwards, and this injunction has been strictly adhered to. They are Pictures drawn on Stone, and re-produced by printing with Colours: every touch is the work of the Artist, and every impression the product of the press.

This is the first, and, as yet, the only attempt to imitate pictorial effects of Landscape Architecture in Chroma-lithography... it has been carried so far beyond what was required in copying polychrome architecture, hieroglyphics, arabesques etc, that this becomes almost a new art. The difference may be thus explained: in mere decorative subjects, the colours are positive and opaque, the tints flat, and the several hues of equal intensity throughout; whereas in these views, the various effects of light and shade, of local colour and general tone, result from transparent and graduated tints. The atmospheric appearance of the skies, giving day-light brightness to the out-door scenes, is the best evidence of the purity and brilliancy of the tints of colour; which being printed in oil on paper, combine solidity with transparency.

In this publication Boys aimed at showing how lithography could imitate different mediums such as a crayon sketch heightened with colour (*Abbaye of St Amand, Rouen*), a sepia drawing with touches of colour (*Sainte Chapelle, Paris*), a slight sketch in watercolour (*Fish Market, Antwerp*), a finished watercolour drawing (*St Laurent*), an oil painting (*The Cour of the Hotel Cluny*) as well as showing atmospheric effects, a bright sunny day (*Tuileries*), a golden sunset (*Institute of Paris*), pale moonlight and a fall of snow (*St Etienne and the Pantheon*). Of the 26 Lithographic plates (plates 2, 16 and 22 have two subjects), 15 are of Paris, 7 of Northern France and 4 of Belgium. The advantage over steel engraving was the colour and atmospheric effects gained by the colouring, what Boys called 'local colouring' and 'pictorial effect'. Ten years earlier Hullmandel had printed *A Series of Subjects from the work of the late R. P. Bonington*, drawn on stone by J.P. Harding (London, 1829).

George Baxter's new method of printing in oil colours.

George Baxter experimented in colour printing between 1829 and 1834. In 1835 he patented '*Improvements in Producing Coloured Steel Plate, Copper Plate and other Impressions*'.

Baxter's process involved using an already engraved steel or copper plate or lithographic stone and gradually adding colour to it by means of incredibly accurate block printing. This was a complicated, time consuming and costly business sometimes involving the use of up to twenty metal or wood blocks as colours were laid on one by one.⁶⁰⁸ Pertinent to this study is that one of Baxter's early colour prints appeared in Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* of 1834: *Hindoo and Mohammedan Buildings* (8 5/8 x 6 1/4 inches), taken from the frontispiece of Captain Robert Elliot's *Views in India*. At the same time George Virtue experimented with colour, in a limited way, as some copies of the title page vignette to *Switzerland Illustrated* (title page dated 1835) are printed in brown and hand coloured. An illustration of this, *Cottage near Thun* (W.H. Bartlett, engraved R. Wallis) is given in Basil Hunnisett's *Engraved on Steel* (1998).⁶⁰⁹

Later in 1841 John Henry Le Keux also patented a process of colouring engravings. The process involved using a number of metal plates but it was too time consuming and did not catch on.⁶¹⁰

Annuals and Foreign Views.

According to Holloway, the years 1835 to 1845 were the peak period for steel engraved book illustrations and 'never before had the scenery of the world been so adequately represented as to be available to the Briton at home'.⁶¹¹ It was the publishers Robert Jennings & Co of 62 Cheapside, London who first had the idea of a series of Annuals with foreign views and between 1830-39 there appeared Jennings' *Landscape Annuals*, the first being the *Tourist in Switzerland and Italy* (1830) with illustrations after Samuel Prout and edited by Thomas Roscoe, followed in 1831, 1832 and 1833 by the *Tourist in Italy*, with Samuel Prout and James Duffield Harding as illustrators and edited by Thomas Roscoe. In 1834 Harding provided the illustrations for the *Tourist in France* and between 1835-38 appeared the *Tourist in Spain - Granada; Andalusia; Biscay and the Castiles* and *Spain and Morocco*, illustrated by David Roberts and edited by Thomas Roscoe. The final Jennings' *Landscape Annual* in 1839 was the *Tourist in Portugal* from paintings by James Holland, edited by W.H. Harrison.

⁶⁰⁸ see Max E Mitzman, *George Baxter and the Baxter Prints* (Newton Abbot, London and North Pomfret, 1978), pp.15-21 and p.123.

⁶⁰⁹ Basil Hunnisett, *Engraved on Steel*, op.cit. colour plate 1 facing page 78.

⁶¹⁰ Hunnisett, op. cit. p.4.

⁶¹¹ Merlyn Holloway, *Steel Engravings*, op. cit. preface, pp.v-vi.

Other Annuals were quick to take up the success of *Jennings Landscape Annuals*. Samuel Prout provided the illustrations for *The Continental Annual* of 1832 published by Smith, Elder and Co, London and edited by William Kennedy. The annual was issued in octavo size, 7 ½ x 4 ½ inches. This annual contained 13 engravings after Prout with the engravings under the superintendence of E.I. Roberts. The subject matter ranged wide as the list of plates demonstrates:

List of Plates for *The Continental Annual* (1832):

Cathedral Tower, Antwerp	Engraved	W. Floyd (Frontispiece)
Roman Column at Igel, near Treves		S. Fisher (Vignette)
Hotel de Ville at Brussels		E.I. Roberts
View in Ghent		J.H. Kernot
View in Nuremberg		E.I. Roberts
View in Metz		T. Barber
The Porta Nigra, or Roman Ruin, at Treves		E.I. Roberts
City and Bridge at Dresden		J.T. Willmore
Port and Lake at Como		T. Barber
Place of St Antonio, Padua		E.I. Roberts
City and Bridge of Prague		J. Le Keux
Rouen Cathedral		W. Wallis
Church of St Pierre at Caen		J. Carter

Ten years' earlier, Prout had previously produced *Illustrations of the Rhine* (1822-26) in five parts and a supplement, comprising 28 lithographs, printed by Hullmandel and published by Ackermann. As mentioned previously (1.2) Baron Gerning's *A Picturesque Tour along the Rhine* (1820) with 24 coloured aquatints from drawings after C.G. Schutz had also been part-published by Ackermann.⁶¹² This publication caused the failure of a publishing venture between J.M.W. Turner and the engravers W.B Cooke and J.C. Allen who had planned a series of 36 Rhine views (11 ½ x 8 ¼ inches) to be published in numbers, with three numbers containing two plates to be published in a year, the first number to be published during the year 1819.⁶¹³

Also in the early 1830s, at the same time as *The Continental Annual*, Clarkson Stanfield provided drawings in *Heath's Picturesque Annual for 1832: Travelling sketches in the north of Italy, the Tyrol and on the Rhine*, edited by and published by Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman. This series continued from 1832 to 1845. *Heath's Picturesque Annual for 1833: Travelling sketches on the Rhine and in Belgium and Holland* also had

⁶¹² See J.R. Abbey, *Travel in Aquatint and Lithography*, op. cit., pp. 189-193. Also mentioned by Martin Hardie, *English Coloured Books*, op. cit, p.107.

⁶¹³ Cecilia Powell, *Turner's Rivers of Europe, The Rhine, Meuse and Mosel* (London, 1991), pp. 35-36.

illustrations after drawings by Clarkson Stanfield. These annuals were originally in small format, 8vo, and contained 26 engravings (including frontispiece and engraved vignette title page). The plates form a classic tour of this part of Europe which could have been easily done in a few weeks from England, crossing the Channel by steamer and taking a steam boat excursion on the Rhine. Many of these views, particularly along the Rhine, were drawn by Turner among countless other artists of the time, for example Tombleson's *Views of the Rhine*, with a text by W.G. Fearnside, published in numbers between 1832 to December 1833 and available in English and German. The imprints suggest simultaneous publication in London, Paris and Karlsruhe. It is known that the chief engraver, Henry Winkles, had previously gone to Germany in 1824 and opened up a studio for steel engravers in Karlsruhe, returning to England in 1832.⁶¹⁴ The particularity of Tombleson's *Views of the Rhine* and other works by Tombleson were the ornate engraved frames surrounding the views which Bernard Adams terms 'rococo revival'.⁶¹⁵

Six of the engravers for *Heath's Picturesque Annual for 1833* had also worked on *The Continental Annual*: W. Floyd, S. Fisher, J.H. Kernot, J.T. Willmore, R. Wallis, and J. Carter. List of Plates for *Heath's Picturesque Annual 1833 - Travelling sketches on the Rhine, and in Belgium and Holland*:

Strasbourg	J. Carter
Heydelberg	Robert Wallis
Heydelberg Castle	J.T. Willmore
Frankfort	W. Hill
Bingen	W. Floyd
Bingen (soft scene)	R. Wallis
Rheinstein	J. Smith
St Goar	R. Wallis (Frontispiece)
Coblence	S. Fisher
Ehrenbreitstein from Coblence	R. Brandard
Coblence from Ehrenbreitstein	J. Cousins
Andernach	R. Brandard
Nonnenwert	J.C. Varral
Drachenfels	Charles Heath
The Castle of Godelberg	R. Wallis
Near Bonn	C. Heath
Cologne	J.T. Willmore
Cologne	J. Cousen (Vignette Title)
Brussels	J.H. Kernot
On the Scheld (Antwerp)	R. Wallis
Ghent	J. Lewis

⁶¹⁴ Hunnisett, *Engraved in Steel*, op. cit., pp. 242-44.

⁶¹⁵ Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated*, op. cit., p. 421.

Bruges	S. Lacey
Rotterdam	J. Carter
Mill near the Hague	R. Brandard
Scheveling	R. Brandard
Homeward Bound, distant view of Brill	W. Miller

It has been pointed out by Cecilia Powell that when Turner was planning his second Meuse-Mosel sketching trip in the summer of 1839 he borrowed a map of the Mosel from his fellow Royal Academician Clarkson Stanfield and on his return had to replace it with a new one as the old one had been 'worn out in the Campaign'. Some of Turner's sketches 'echoed', as Cecilia Powell puts it, the lithographs in Stanfield's *Sketches on the Moselle, the Rhine & the Meuse* (1838). Powell continues:

Indeed this fine book of thirty magnificent plates must have acted as a catalyst for the entire tour. It drew Turner back to all three rivers of the title in the same spirit of amicable competition that had led him to exhibit his first oil painting of Venice at the Royal Academy in 1833 after hearing that Stanfield was employed on the same theme...⁶¹⁶

Other artists who contributed to *Heath's Picturesque Annuals* included George Cattermole (a pupil of John Britton) for *Scott and Scotland* (1835),⁶¹⁷ Allom provided two drawings for *Windsor Castle and its environs* (1840) and *Belgium* (1841) had 16 plates after Allom and *Paris in 1841* (1842) had 18 plates after Allom. By 1842 *Paris in 1841* was larger in size, being in octavo, and contained 21 engravings. What is significant with this album is that, instead of separate plates on separate pages, there are vignettes with text either above or below the image. This was a Longmans publication and it is worth noting that Fisher did not as a general rule combine text and image on the same page. Of the 21 illustrations, 18 are after Allom and three after Eugène Lami. Of the 18 after Allom, 5 are plates on their own and 13 are vignettes within the text. Hence an attempt to incorporate the image within the text, perhaps showing that by the 1840s, the influences and success of the illustrated novel typified by the illustrators to Charles Dickens. These last three (*Windsor Castle, Belgium and Paris*) are discussed separately below, see 5.16, 5.17 and 5.23.

Longmans also produced *Turner's Annual Tour* between 1833 and 1835. The first volume was ready for Christmas in December 1832 but carried the date 1833. It cost 2 guineas which was twice the price of the other Annuals. The original titles on the spine were *Wanderings by the Loire* and *Wanderings by the Seine*. Ritchie went to the Loire in 1832 with the proofs. These

⁶¹⁶ Cecilia Powell, *Turner's Rivers of Europe, The Rhine, Meuse and Mosel*, Exhibition Catalogue Tate Gallery (London, 1991), pp.47-48.

⁶¹⁷ A watercolour by John Frederick Lewis, *Highland Hospitality*, portrays both George Cattermole and William Evans of Eton showing the close links that were formed between traveling artists in the 1830s. See M. Lewis, op. cit. pp. 12-14.

books were reprinted, as a single volume under the title *Rivers of France* in 1837, with 61 views, to cover the losses of the previous books. This was the first steel engraved publication that was exclusively dedicated to Turner's works. It was based on Turner's previous trips and the designs were completed by 1831. Turner used a combination of watercolours and gouache on blue paper. The engravings were on steel and the engravers would later all work for Fisher: Robert Brandard provided 14 engravings, James Bayliss Allen did 4, James Charles Armytage produced 3, John Cousen 5, Samuel Fisher 2, Thomas Higham 3, including an outstandingly good *Rouen Cathedral* as discussed before [fig. 81], Thomas Jeavons 3, William Miller 7, William Radclyffe 3, John Smith 1, William Raymond Smith 1, Robert Wallis 1, and James Tibbets Willmore 9. Rawlinson remarked that Turner found Willmore to be one of his six best engravers but also commented that his plates for *Turner's Annual Tour* were 'too soft, spongy and black'.⁶¹⁸

5.7 History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain (H. Fisher, R. Fisher & P. Jackson, 1835).

The author was Edward Baines (1774-1848). The earliest mention of Edward Baines, in connection with Fisher, is in Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon's 1816 catalogue as being author of *The History of the Wars of the French Revolution 1792-1816*. Edward Baines was born in the same town as Henry Fisher in Preston, Lancashire. They were both apprenticed to printers in the town, Edward at 16 in 1790 and Henry in 1794 aged 13. As was seen in chapter 3.6, Fisher went on to Blackburn and joined Hemingway and Nuttall and when Nuttall moved to Liverpool so did Henry Fisher. Baines went to Leeds and was employed by Binns & Brown, printers and booksellers as well as owners of the Leeds *Mercury* newspaper. By 1801 Baines took over the newspaper. It is therefore wholly possible that Baines and Fisher knew each other and would explain why Baines' first book was published by Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon, at the point when Fisher took over sometime between 1810 and 1818. The Leeds *Mercury* became the leading Whiggish newspaper in Yorkshire and during the period of Reform Bill agitation Baines was elected Member of Parliament for Leeds in 1834 and was known as the anti-corn law MP. Apart from his career in journalism and politics, Baines wrote about topographical interests and his works include, a *History, Directory and Gazetteer of York* published in 1823 and one on *Lancashire* published in 1825. This latter book was the basis of

⁶¹⁸ William G. Rawlinson, *The Engraved Works of J.M.W. Turner, R.A.* (London, 1908-18), 2 vols, vol I, p. lxvi. Also quoted in Tessa Sidey, *Turner and the Birmingham Engravers* (Birmingham, 2004), p. 3.

much of the work subsequently published by Fisher, particularly the four volume *History of the County and Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster* (5.8) published in 1836.

Edward Baines' Lancashire Estate was five miles west of Manchester and formed part of the Chat Moss peat bog, a vast area of reclaimed land. Interestingly it was William Roscoe, M.P, the author of the *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici* who had begun reclamation of the land in 1793 continuing until his bankruptcy in 1821, when the task was taken over by William Baines. After Roscoe's ownership and leasehold of Chat Moss the Liverpool to Manchester Railway was built on floating piles by George Stephenson over part of the bog in 1829. Another connection to Fisher was William Roscoe's fifth son, the author Thomas Roscoe (1791-1871), who wrote for many of the *Annuals* such as Jennings's *Landscape Annuals* (1830-38), Jennings and Chaplin's *Remembrance* (1831), Fisher's *Landscape Souvenir* (1838) and subsequently Heath's *Picturesque Annuals* including *Belgium 1841* with designs after Allom.

The full title informs us:

History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain with a notice of its early history in the East, and in all the quarters of the globe; a description of the great mechanical inventions which have caused its unexampled extension in Britain; and a view of the present state of the manufacture, and the condition of the classes engaged in its several departments. Embellished and illustrated with portraits of inventors, drawings of machinery, etc.

Published: H. Fisher, R. Fisher & P. Jackson (London, 1835) in an octavo volume. There are 11 wood engravings and 18 steel-engraved plates in all with 5 steel plates after Allom:

- No.6. *View of Carding, Drawing and Roving*. T.Allom, J.Carter. (p.182)
- No.7. *Cotton Factory of Messrs Swainson Birley & Co, near Preston, Lancashire*. T.Allom, J.Tingle (p.185)
- No.11. *View of Mule Spinning*. T.Allom, J.W.Lowry (p. 211)
- No.13. *View of Power-Loom Weaving*. T.Allom, J.Tingle (p. 239)
- No.15. *View of Calico Printing*. T.Allom, J.Carter (p. 267)

The text for number 7 informs us that the factory was seven stories high, one hundred and fifty eight yards long, eighteen yards broad and had six hundred and sixty windows with thirty two thousand five hundred panes of glass. The detailed views by Allom are today rare survivals of the interior and exterior of these massive cotton mills and a reminder of our industrial past. The Preston connection between Fisher and Baines is further re-inforced as the illustrations are from a cotton factory near Preston.

The original sepia wash designs by Allom were sold in the Christie's 1985 Allom Auction. [figs. 131, 132, 133, 134 and 135]. Lot 29 *Mill, Preston*, indistinctly signed and numbered

691, pencil, sepia ink and washes, 4 1/8 x 6 1/2 inches; Lot 30 *Carding Room, Factory, Preston*, signed, inscribed and numbered 693, pencil and sepia washes, 4 1/8 x 6 1/2 inches; Lot 31 *Mule Spinning*, signed, inscribed, numbered 694, pencil, pen, sepia and washes, 4 1/8 x 6 1/2 inches; Lot 32 *Calico Printing*, signed and numbered 696, inscribed, pencil and sepia washes, heightened with white, 4 1/8 x 6 1/3 inches, Lot 33 *Power Loom Weaving*, signed and numbered 695, inscribed, pen, sepia ink, and washes, 4 1/8 x 6 1/2 inches.

5.8 History of the County Palatinate and Duchy of Lancaster (Fisher, Son & Co, 1836).

This is another work by Edward Baines, which was based on Baines' *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancashire* first published in 1824. Here the original work has been enlarged upon and was published in 14 parts between 1831-36. It is a large quarto size, 11 x 9 inches (282 x 225 mm). It contains 169 plates in four volumes with 33 plates after Allom. Some of these plates were previously used in *Lancashire Illustrated* (1831) and in Baines' *History of the Cotton Manufacture* (1835). However some are new, for example *Furness Abbey, Lancashire* after a design by Allom, engraved by E. Challis, dated 1833 and marked proof on the plate [fig. 136a]. Abbott and Holder possess a pencil sketch of *Furness Abbey from the east* by Allom dated September 1832. In *Lancashire Illustrated* there is an engraving of *Furness Abbey in the Vale of Nightshade, Lancashire* after Harwood and engraved by Tombleson [fig. 136b]. In the same book *Speke Hall* is by G & C Payne and engraved by L. Aspland but in Baines' book *Speke Hall* is after Allom and engraved by E. Challis, thus suggesting newly commissioned work. A sketch of *Speke Hall*, inscribed, pencil 7 1/8 x 10 1/8 inches is listed as Lot 6 in the 1983 Allom sale at Christie's South Kensington.

The publishing line of the completed book now reads Fisher, Son & Co., London, Paris & New York, 1836. This suggests either offices or representatives in both Paris and New York. Significantly the year 1836 represents the zenith of Henry Fisher's publishing career just one year before his death.

5.9 Chester, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham and Rutland Illustrated (Fisher, Son & Co, 1836).

Also published in 1836, this quarto sized volume measures 10 1/2 x 9 inches (although some examples vary at about 11 x 8 1/2 inches). This comprised the fifth in Fisher's series *Picturesque Illustrations of Great Britain and Ireland*. It was sometimes advertised by Fisher by a more convenient short title as *The Midland Counties Illustrated*. The authors were T.

Noble and T. Rose. Thomas Rose had also written the text for *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* (1832). There are 36 plates containing 72 views plus one engraved title page. All 73 plates are after Allom. A few years' later (c.1837-38) a French edition appeared, text by Alexandre Sosson with the title: *Gage d'Amitié. Itinéraire pittoresque aux comtés de Chester, de Derby, de Leicester, de Lincoln, de Nottingham et de Rutland*.

The designs by Allom measure 7 x 11 inches. Examples, (of which a few were mentioned earlier in 5.1) include: *Cheshire: Eaton Hall from the south west* and *Eaton Hall from the south east*, both 7 x 11 inches [fig. 104], (provenance Abbott and Holder number 112); *Derbyshire: Chatsworth entrance*, 7 x 11 inches (Abbott and Holder number 113); *Nottinghamshire: Radford Folly*, 7 x 11 inches (Abbott and Holder number 114). Two preparatory pencil drawings by Allom of Chatsworth were sold by Sothebys, London on 14 July 2010: *Derbyshire: View of Chatsworth from the east* on grey paper, 7 x 10 inches and *View of Chatsworth from the west*, 7 x 10 ¼ inches,⁶¹⁹ engraved by W. Taylor. Occasionally when intricate architectural details were set down Allom included a separate sketch for the engraver, for example a pencil sketch of some details for *Lincoln Cathedral from the Castle* and afterwards a note was attached 'To be returned with final proofs to Mr Allom'. Sometimes there are misunderstandings, for example on the back of a sketch of *Speke Hall* there is a pencilled comment about the sketch on the reverse side of *Creswell Hall* asking 'Is this for Fisher'?⁶²⁰ This may suggest as Diana Brooks has pointed out that Allom had an assistant.⁶²¹

Croyland Abbey, Lincolnshire (Allom and W. Deeble) has the same viewing angle, yet from slightly further away and on a smaller scale, as Thomas Girtin's design after a sketch by J. Moore, engraved and published by Benjamin Howlett on 22 August 1797 [figs. 137 and 138].

5.10 The Life and Reign of William the Fourth (Fisher, Son & Co, 1837).

This two volume work was written by the Reverend G.N. Wright, author of numerous works for Fisher, Son & Co. The publishers, like those of today, no doubt saw a publishing opportunity with the death of a celebrity. In a previous chapter (3.16) we saw Jonas Nuttall rushing out a biography of Nelson even before his funeral in 1805. Although not a

⁶¹⁹ Sothebys London: *An Exceptional Eye/ A private British collection*, Sale L. 10041, 14 July 2010, Lot 54, provenance Henry Potts, Northumberland, 1990.

⁶²⁰ These drawings in the collection of Abbott and Holder 25 September 2010.

⁶²¹ Diana Brooks, op. cit, p.36.

topographical book, it contains one plate after Allom (volume II between pp. 624-625): *Queen Adelaide's Lodge, Bushy Park*, drawn by T.Allom and engraved by W.Taylor. Published by Fisher, Son & Co. (London and Paris, 1837).

5.11 Views in India, chiefly among the Himalaya Mountains (Fisher, Son & Co, 1836-38).

An advertisement in the back of Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* for 1836 and dated London, May, 1835 states that Messrs. Fisher & Co. have the following work in preparation: *Views in the Himalayan Mountains, India*. The advertisement continues:

Lieutenant White having, at the earnest request of his friends, offered for publication a number of SKETCHES taken during tours in the Himalayan Mountains and adjacent Country, in 1829-31, begs to inform the Subscribers to those Views, the publication of which has been unavoidably delayed, that his presence in England has at length enabled him to overcome the obstacles which prevented their being before given to the public; and that he has placed the List of Subscribers, (amounting to upwards of 200) with Messrs. FISHER & Co., to whom the publication is now entrusted, under his own superintendence. And he has the satisfaction to say, that the greater part of the Drawings are in the hands of first-rate Artists, and that no trouble or expense will be spared in getting up the work in the best style.

It will comprise a series of at least 25 Line Engravings on Steel, by the best Engravers, of about the size of "Elliot's India", from select Drawings of the most interesting portions of those regions at present so little known to Europeans; with letter-press descriptions, &c; and will be published in Two Parts, imperial quarto, Proofs before letters, on India paper, at the original amount of subscription, viz., Five Guineas, (or in India 50 Rupees) to be *furnished to subscribers only*. One-half subscription to be paid in advance, and the remainder on delivery of the first portion, (according to the tenor of the original prospectus) which it is hoped will be ready by the Spring of 1836, at the latest.

Former Subscribers, and persons now desirous of subscribing, are requested to forward their names, stating also where they wish their copies to be delivered, and giving a reference for the payment, otherwise the difficulty in collecting the subscriptions and obtaining the requisite information, from persons so far and widely distributed, is incalculable.

Subscriptions will be received by Lieut. White, 31st Regt., Portsmouth, and by Messrs. FISHER & CO., 38 Newgate-street, London; with either of whom may be seen specimens of the Drawings; and in Calcutta, by Messrs. TULLOH & Co., who will have the delivery of the work in India; and to one of whom it is necessary that the requisite references, should be returned with as little delay as possible.

Reading between the lines one can see that Lieutenant White had probably got into difficulties trying to publish his illustrated work and that Fisher & Co stepped in, just as they had taken over other publications such as John Greig's *Excursions in Ireland* in 1828 as mentioned in Robert Fisher's first letter to George Petrie. The list of subscribers appended to the advertisement [fig. 80] contains the names of 167 subscribers. Of these the majority are serving soldiers including 35 Lieutenants, 36 Captains, 10 Majors, 18 Colonels, 4 Generals as well as 16 members of the Bengal or Bombay Civil Service, 5 Reverends and 3 Surgeons. Around 127 of the 167 subscribers have military and Indian connections including 15 officers from Lieutenant White's own 31st Regiment. The large paper subscribers edition was issued as a tall folio measuring 15 x 11 inches (380 x 280 mm), division one contained 16 plates and division two had 14 plates.

This title began as a monthly part publication in 1836 but was published in book form (2 volumes) by Fisher, Son & Co (London and Paris) in 1838 (edition sizes vary but are mostly small folio either 12 x 9 ¾ inches, 310 x 250 mm or super-royal quarto 13 ½ x 10 ½ inches, 340 x 270 mm). The title states it was edited by Emma Roberts and the views were drawn from nature by Lieutenant George Francis White of the 31st Regiment. Emma Roberts had already contributed the letter-press to Captain Robert Elliot's *Views in India, China and on the Shores of the Red Sea*, published by Fisher in parts (from September 1830) and in book form (1835). The Preface acknowledges:

the extraordinary degree of interest... illustrating as they do, a portion of our Indian territories hitherto little known, and comprising the most splendid mountain scenery which can be found throughout the world. The Publishers have spared neither pains nor cost in the Engravings, which have been got up at a vast expense (£2,400) from Drawings executed on the spot...

There follows a list of 37 plates including the vignette and frontispiece. The artists include Clarkson Stanfield R.A., W. Harvey, C. Bentley, W. Purser, H. Melville, T. C. Dibden, D. Roberts, Captain Grindlay, W. Westall A.R.A., J.M.W. Turner and T. Allom. The irony is that none of the recognized artists had been to the places they depicted but had worked up sketches provided by the amateur artists. Only Captain Grindlay had been to India and had written and illustrated *Scenery, Costumes and Architecture, chiefly on the Western side of India*, published by R. Ackermann & Smith Elder (London, 1826-30).⁶²² Indeed Captain Grindlay had been one of the original subscribers to Lieutenant White's book as listed in Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* of 1836. John Britton in his obituary notice on W.H. Bartlett for the *Art Journal* in 1855 wrote dismissively of:

Books of foreign travels made up by London authors from very slight, and even trivial notes: whilst the illustrations have been produced by skilful artists at home, from elegantly frivolous sketches or scratches.⁶²³

There are seven plates after Turner, including the frontispiece, (w.1291-97) and five after Allom. One of the major contemporary collectors of Turner's works, Elhanan Bicknell (1788-1861), made his first two purchases of two watercolour designs by Turner for this book (w.1293 and 1296). The designs after Turner are:

Scene at Colgony on the Ganges, engraved E. Goodall, frontispiece (dated 1838, all the other engravings are dated 1836)

Part of the Ghant at Hurdwar, engraved T.Higham on page 26

Mussooree and the Dhoon from Landour, J.B. Allen, page 31

⁶²² Captain Robert Melville Grindlay, *Scenery, Costumes and Architecture, chiefly on the western side of India* (London, 1826-30), 2 volumes in one, folio (396 x 300mm), 36 fine hand-coloured aquatint plates. Bernard J Shapero Books notes that this work begun by Ackermann, was taken over by Smith Elder as Ackermann was pessimistic about its success. The plates are generally acknowledged to be some of the most beautiful of India. Of the 36 plates, fifteen were by Westall, 10 by Grindlay, and other plates were by W. Daniell, Clarkson Stanfield, David Roberts and Copley Fielding. Mentioned in Hardie, *English Coloured Books*, op. cit. p.115.

⁶²³ Quoted in Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op.cit. p.39 and in *Art Journal*, January 1855, p.24.

Snowy Range from Tyne or Marma, E. Goodall, page 38
View near Jubbera, J. Cousen, page 43
Falls near the source of the Jumna, J. Cousen, page 58
Valley of the Dhoon, from the Landour Bridge, W. Floyd, page 78

Lieutenant, later Lieutenant-Colonel, George Francis White (1808-1898) made a series of tours in the direction of Mussooree, Simla and to the sources of the Jumna and Ganges in 1829, 1831 and 1832. However 25 earlier sketches exist in an album entitled *Pen and Ink Sketches in India* (180 x 260mm) and are dated from 1826-1830.⁶²⁴ These sketches are probably the basis of the original 25 Line Engravings on Steel mentioned by Fisher in the original prospectus included in the *Drawing Room Scrap Book* of 1836 which were later increased to 37 engravings. Both Tate Britain and the British Library possess sketches by Lieutenant White.⁶²⁵ Some of these served as the starting point for watercolour designs by Turner for publication as engravings. For example *View near Jubberah in the Himalayas 1829*, pencil on paper 252 x 365mm (Tate T06477) can be compared to Turner's watercolour (number 56). And *Valley of the Dhoon from Landour 1829* (Tate T06478) can be compared to plate 174 in Luke Hermann's *Turner Prints, The Engraved Work of J.M.W. Turner* (Oxford, 1990).

The five plates after Allom are:⁶²⁶

Crossing by a Sangha, near Jumnotree, T.Allom, J.C. Bentley, page 54 [fig. 139b]
View near the Source of the Jumna, T.Allom, J.H. Kernot, page 59
Gungootree, The Sacred Source of the Ganges, T.Allom, J.H. Kernot, page 60
Village of Khandoo, on the Choor Mountain, T. Allom, H.Adlard, page 67
Village of Koghera and Deodar Forest, T. Allom, W. Floyd, page 70

Allom exhibited a painting of *Sacred Source of the Ganges* at the Royal Academy Exhibition in 1837 (number 577).⁶²⁷ Other artists were William Westall: *Fortress of Bowrie in Rajpootana* [fig. 139a]; William Purser: *Borro Boedoor* [fig. 139c] and *The celebrated Hindoo Temples and Palace at Madura* [fig. 139e] and Captain Grindlay: *A Suttee* [fig. 139d].

⁶²⁴ source www.invaluable.com 2006 auction, lot 39 Lieutenant-Colonel George Francis White.

⁶²⁵ B.L. India Office Select Materials. Asian and African Studies, Print Room nos: WD 3086, 3087, 3780, 3781 (Colgong Rocks.Ganges R.), 4250, 4304, 4305-4310 (including 4306 drawings in an album with paper covers inscribed 'Unfinished Original Pencil Sketches Chiefly in the Himalaya Mountains etc'), 4386, 4387. Tate Britain: T06477 (View near Jubberah in the Himalayas 1829, pencil on paper 252 x 365mm), T06478 (Valley of the Dhoon from Landour 1829), T06479 (Rocky Islets on the Ganges at Colgong 1834).

⁶²⁶ Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op.cit., p.87 notes that *Views in India* contains 30 plates, 6 after Allom.

⁶²⁷ As noted previously Ackermann had published *Along the Rivers Ganges and Jumna* in 1824.

The original 200 subscribers at five guineas a copy would not have raised more than £1000 of the total cost of £2400 for the engravings alone. So Fisher & Co were again anticipating an 'extended sale' to recoup their costs and make a profit. Eight years later a Fisher, Son & Co catalogue inserted into the back of G.N. Wright's *Life and Times of Louis Philippe* published in 1844 advertises *The Himalaya Mountains Illustrated* as 'one superb super-royal quarto volume elegantly bound in morocco, price £2.2s'.

5.12 Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor Illustrated (Fisher, Son & Co, 1836-1838).

Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* for 1836 declares, in an advert on the back page [fig. 140], that 'early in 1836 will be published, to be continued monthly, Part 1, Price 2s, containing Five Engravings printed on quarto, of Fisher's Views in *The Holy Land, Syria, Egypt, Greece, Asia Minor &c* from drawings on the spot by W.H. Bartlett Esq with descriptions by John Carne Esq'. Thereafter 30 parts were issued with 4 engravings each making a total of 120 engravings.

This Fisher publication was completed in three volumes in 1838 with 120 plates (book size: 11 x 8 ½ inches, 280 x 215 mm), [figs. 141, 142, 143, 144, 145]. The image size (not including lettering) is 5 x 7 ½ inches, which allows 1 ½ inches of border around the images. There are practically no plate marks in the three volumes except for a smaller image in volume one of *Ancient Cedars in the Forest of Lebanon* (facing page 46) where the image measures only 3 ½ x 5 ¾ inches and the plate mark is clearly visible being 5 7/8 x 9 inches. Volume Three contains two full page maps, one of Syria (dated 1838) and one of Asia Minor both drawn and engraved by B. R. Davies, 16 George Street, Euston Square. Publication ran from 1836 to 1838 with a volume for each year. The title page informs us that it was illustrated in a series of views drawn from nature by W.H. Bartlett, William Purser etc and it is not until the latter part of volume three that there are nine plates after designs by Thomas Allom. In fact, rather oddly, there does not appear to be a single plate by William Purser. However in an advertisement in the back of the French edition of G.N. Wright's *Landscape-Historical Illustrations of Scotland and the Waverley Novels* (Fisher, 1836-38) for the forthcoming French version of *Syria, The Holy Land and Asia Minor Illustrated* there is mention of William Purser:

Monsieur Purser est parti il y a quelque temps pour la Palestine, pour dessiner sur les lieux des Vues que Monsieur Bartlett, à cause des troubles locaux, ne put prendre lui-même.⁶²⁸

The advertisement also states that Mr Bartlett offered his services to Fisher and that the price he asked for was accepted.⁶²⁹ Here Bartlett is being paid by the publisher Fisher. In 1832, in a letter to Beattie he mentions he is funding himself ('my funds will not allow') with the hope that Virtue will go ahead and publish the intended *Switzerland Illustrated*. In another, undated letter to Beattie, about the proposed publication *The Danube Illustrated* (published by Virtue, 1844) he specifically mentions: 'My present journey differs in the respect from any I have hitherto undertaken', in other words previous journeys had been at Bartlett's own expense but here, for the first time, it was at Virtue's cost, and therefore it prevented Bartlett from doing anything else unless previously arranged with Virtue.⁶³⁰

Of the 37 plates in volume one of *Syria, The Holy Land and Asia Minor Illustrated*, 35 are after Bartlett, in the second volume all 37 plates are after Bartlett and in volume three, out of 46 plates, 33 plates are after Bartlett, 9 plates after Allom, 3 after Salmon and one after Bentley. William Beattie in his *Bartlett Testimonial* omits to mention this publication, probably because it was not on a list of Virtue publications and, it was also not in his list of Bartlett's journeys to the East, where he mentions that Bartlett travelled there five times: 1834-5, 1842, 1845, 1853 and 1854, he fails to mention 1837 which is curious as he had received a long letter from Bartlett at Pera, Constantinople dated 3 October 1837.⁶³¹

The Introduction sets the tone:

The increasing facilities of conveyance already bring Palestine and Syria comparatively near to our own homes - and opens to the traveller in Asia Minor, a scenery of more perfect and varied beauty than even Italy, Greece, or Spain can present... but the despotism that has contributed to this ruinous state is perhaps, soon to be destroyed... brought under the power of Ibrahim (Pasha)... and a state of comparative improvement and industry succeed to one of rapine, sloth and misery. Yet it is strange, that while the spirit of modern discovery has explored the most remote extremities of the globe, and the political convulsions of Europe forced the traveller into other continents - this extensive and famous territory should have so long remained undescribed and comparatively unknown... European travel begins to grow hacknied and familiar...

⁶²⁸ G.N. Wright, *Paysages-Historiques et illustrations de L'Ecosse et des Romans de Walter Scott*, Fisher, Fils et Cie., A Londres, A Paris et New York (1838), advertisement p.2. My translation: 'Mr Purser left for Palestine some time ago, to draw on the spot those Views which Mr Bartlett could not take himself owing to local troubles'.

⁶²⁹ 'Mr Bartlett offrit ses services, et le prix qu'il demanda lui fait accordé'...

⁶³⁰ see Appendix 1 section IV for Bartlett letters: No 3 from Carne to Bartlett urgently requiring Palestine Views for *Syria, The Holy Land and Asia Minor Illustrated*; No 7 for *Switzerland Illustrated* and no 6 for *The Danube Illustrated*.

⁶³¹ William Beattie, *Brief Memoir of the late William Henry Bartlett* (London, 1855), also found in Alexander M Ross, *William Henry Bartlett*, op.cit. (Toronto, 1973). The letter is in the *William Beattie Collection* at Holborn Local Studies Centre, ST2/1B/27, Box of Mss (A/47) See Appendix 1 for full text.

The author of *Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor Illustrated* was John Carne (1789-1844)⁶³² who had travelled east in 1821 and had visited Constantinople, Greece, the Levant, Egypt and Palestine. He wrote for the *New Monthly Magazine* under the title *Letters from the East* and was paid 20 guineas for each article by the publisher Henry Colburn. A two volume book, *Letters in the East* (London, 1826), drawn from the articles, was dedicated to Sir Walter Scott and was followed by a three volume *Recollections of Travels in Syria and Palestine* (London, 1830). The review by the *New Monthly Magazine* of the former stated that it was:

peculiarly valuable by the graphic descriptions, written on the spot, of the present actual state of the places which have been the theatres of the great events recorded in the Bible.

In fact John Carne was ordained in 1826 but never officiated as a clergyman. This religious theme was taken up by the Advertisement (dated 1 October 1836) to volume one of Fisher's *Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor Illustrated*: The Publishers it states are

deeply impressed, not only by the interest but the by the sanctity which is attached to every memorial of The Holy Land - to its ancient and most sacred recollections... they have secured the literary co-operation of a gentleman whose name carries with it the assurance, that the task could not have been committed to talents more eminently fitted to do it justice...

Indeed an illustrated book on The Holy Land must have represented a best seller in such an age of early Victorian religious devotion and missionary zeal. Finden published his *Biblical Keepsake* between 1833-36 with views by leading artists who had never been to the Holy Land including J.M.W. Turner. Robert Fisher himself had been at Cambridge University with the intention of going into Holy Orders when called by his father to come into the business and, it must be remembered, the origins of H. Fisher, Son & Co had been bound up with religious publishing. Bartlett, in his subsequent career from 1844-54 as both author and illustrator, returned four times to the Holy Land and published illustrated books with steel engravings and woodcuts such as *Footsteps of Our Lord and his Apostles in Syria, Greece and Italy* (Arthur Hall, Virtue, 1851), *Forty Days in the Desert, on the track of the Israelites* (Arthur Hall, Virtue, 1848) and *Walks about the City and Environs of Jerusalem* (George Virtue, 1844). Hence Fisher had sensed that an illustrated publication concerning the Holy Land might catch on and sell well, and, in the second paragraph to the Advertisement, he continues:

it is impossible to estimate too highly the great advantages which this country is about to derive from the Manufacturing, Commercial and Trading resources, scientific discoveries, and rapid intercourse of the East: the march of intellect and the flight of steam are advancing hand in hand into the heart of Asia; - even while this volume has been in progress, new facilities have been opened in various directions. At the conclusion of this volume, so liberally supported, the Publishers feel confident that

⁶³² for John Carne see *DNB* (1899). Also *Allibone's Dictionary*. Carne also wrote for the *Annuals*, *Forget-me-not*, *Gem* and *Keepsake*.

the forthcoming ones will increase in interest and beauty; their Artist, now in Palestine, having lately taken a series of Views, the subjects of which have never been touched on before.

The artist in question might have been W.H. Bartlett, who had travelled east in 1834-35 and was in Pera in October 1837 or the hapless William Purser. Bartlett arrived in Constantinople on 1st October 1837. Dr William Beattie had given him introductions and he writes to Dr Beattie on 3 October 1837 from Chez Mme Battiani, Pera, Constantinople:

Constantinople - a vast phantasmagoria - very much like a moving diorama full of scenes from fairy tales but it is impossible for the pencil to express its beauties as they are scattered about in a manner very puzzling to the artist - and how to express the oriental light, which without the accident of light and shade usual in the north, is sufficient to produce the most brilliant relief combined with a softness of harmony equally beautiful. I fear one can only give the mere form of the objects received but with that beautiful lustre with which in the East they are always invested.

Bartlett complains about his accommodation in a

miserable hole called Pera... where we are without carpets... the windows rattling so that we cannot sleep and the wretched lanes all but impassable with dirt...⁶³³

The author Frank Hall Standish had travelled to Constantinople in 1835 and described Pera as

the residence of most Europeans who visit Constantinople, it is a suburb of Galeta (called in Turkish Bey Oglou).⁶³⁴

Earlier in April 1837 John Carne had written to Bartlett in London asking for views of Palestine. He was worried that Bartlett's commitments with Virtue for *American Scenery* (published 1840) was going to detain him for three and a half months in America:

The completion of the Asian views by those of the Land of Promise... of which no good or beautiful series has yet been published... Our Syrian Work must come to a standstill for want of Palestine material... The interest of the Subscribers can continue beyond volume 2 without the Judean Views, (but) the 3rd Volume must absolutely begin with them... Call on Messrs Fisher as to the price, the number of views etc,... You are the strong anchor of my work, - do not desert it in the time of need.⁶³⁵

The advertisement in volume two states that Syria and The Holy Land have only recently been explored by modern artists capable of doing full justice and the advertisement for Volume Three expands on this:

Views of Palestine and other parts of Asia Minor, remarks the Editor of the Spectator, which used to be scarce and indifferent, now abound in number and excellence; the best however have been made from the rough and slight sketches of travellers, some of whom have only feeble outlines of the more prominent features of the scenery, which have had life and expression given to them by artists unacquainted with the characteristic appearance and effects of the country and clime; so that what we admire as pictures, may want that local truth and congenial character, which are essential to convey a correct idea of the actual scenes as they meet the eye of the traveller. Messrs Fisher with an enterprising spirit that deserves to meet with a commensurate recompense, have at the expense of sending out artists,

⁶³³ The Bartlett Letters are transcribed in Appendix 1, Section IV. This letter number 8 from William Beattie Collection, Holborn Local Studies Centre, ST2/1B/27, Box of MSS. (A/47).

⁶³⁴ Frank Hall Standish, *The Shores of the Mediterranean*, published Black and Armstrong (London, 1837-38), 2 volumes in octavo.

⁶³⁵ John Carne Letter to W.H. Bartlett, British Library Add MS. 50143 G. ff. 34-35.

for the express purpose of taking accurate views of those places and objects in Syria and The Holy Land, which ... are interesting to the public.

The present volume concludes the views thus alluded to, - the First Series of *The Turkish Empire Illustrated*; and the Proprietors have now the grateful and pleasing duty of returning their thanks to the public for an amount of patronage seldom equalled - never, they believe, surpassed.

...an undertaking of so much magnitude; their endeavour has been to improve as they progressed.

The Proprietors have but one subject of regret - that circumstances which they could not control have obliged them to extend their work beyond the limits originally assigned, and so far to break faith with their friends; - this, however, they will endeavour to obviate in future.

... the Proprietors beg to direct the attention of the possessors of this first series, to the second series of *The Turkish Empire Illustrated*, now in course of publication, comprising *Views of Constantinople and its Environs, with the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, from Drawings by Mr Allom, who went out expressly for the purpose; and whose talents as an artist are already well known and appreciated. London, October, 1838.

Indeed Thomas Allom left England on 7 June 1837 and went via Paris to Constantinople. He returned on 9 April 1838 and spent June and July of 1838 working up his sketches for the next Fisher publication, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated*.⁶³⁶

The nine Allom designs (most dated 1838 on the plates) towards the end of volume three of *Syria, The Holy Land and Asia Minor Illustrated* are:

1. *Plain of the Jordan, looking towards the Dead Sea* (T.Allom, S. Fisher) p. 69
2. *Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem* (T.Allom, H. Griffith) p. 72
3. *The Monastery of Santa Saba* (T.Allom, S. Bradshaw) p. 74
4. *Lake of Tiberias, or Sea of Galilee* (T.Allom, W. Floyd) p. 77
5. *Entrance to the (Church of the) Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem* (T. Allom, J. Redaway) p. 79
6. *Tomb of Absalom, near Jerusalem* (T. Allom, E. Radclyffe) p. 81
7. *Chapel at Bethlehem* (T.Allom, W. Radclyffe) p. 83
8. *Bethany* (T.Allom, H. Adlard) p. 90
9. *Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives* (T.Allom, S. Fisher) p. 94

Engraving number 5 *Entrance to the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem* [fig. 145] can be compared to a sketch (11 x 8 ¼ inches, 280 x 210 mm) in the Searight Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum.⁶³⁷ This would correspond to the 8 x 11 inch watercolours that Allom produced for *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated*.

There is the possibility that Allom stopped off at Jerusalem to create these designs, either on his way out to, or on the way back from, Constantinople between 7 June 1837 and 9 April

⁶³⁶ see Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op.cit. p. 33.

⁶³⁷ Reproduced in Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op. cit. p. 34, figure eight.

1838. Diana Brooks writes 'that several sketches of the Holy Land and Jerusalem that later found a place in various Fisher publications suggest he may have proceeded in that direction after leaving Turkey'.⁶³⁸ These are possibly the 'Judean Views' that Carne had requested from Bartlett (p.231).

Syria, The Holy Land and Asia Minor Illustrated was published in parts both in England and in France. Adverts in France stated that the livraisons, or parts, would be published the first of every month and each livraison would contain four plates and eight pages of text for a price of 2 francs and fifty centimes. It was available by subscription 'chez Fisher, Fils et Compagnie, 20 Quai de L'Ecole, Paris ' and 'dans tous les depots de publications pittoresques et dans les départements, chez les principaux libraries et maitres de postes'.

5.13 Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated (Fisher, Son & Co, 1838-40). [figs. 146-153].

In this work there are 96 plates with 80 after Allom and an historical account of Constantinople, and descriptions of the plates, by the Reverend Robert Walsh, LL.D, Chaplain to the British Embassy at the Ottoman Porte. It was published by Fisher, Son & Co. Newgate Street, London and Quai de L'Ecole, Paris in parts from 1838-40. The French version was entitled *Constantinople Ancienne et Moderne* and the title page follows the English edition and states it is part of *L'Empire Ottoman Illustré*. The letter-press is by Léon Gallibert and Clément Pellé, collaborateurs de la *Revue Britannique*. They claim that their history of Constantinople is a summary of the best European works on the subject. The English version appeared in three volumes (11 x 8 ½ inches, 280 x 220 mm) with 32 plates per volume and was designed to follow on from 'notre ouvrage sur *La Terre Sainte, La Syrie, et L'Asie Mineure* (Carne's *Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor Illustrated*) and the preface promises that another work on The Mediterranean will follow to complete the series (*The Shores and Islands of the Mediterranean* by G.N. Wright, published Fisher, Son & Co. c.1839-40).

At the end of *Views in India, chiefly among the Himalayas* (Fisher, 1838) there is an advert for *The Turkish Empire Illustrated*:

Published this day, to be continued at intervals of 4 mounths [sic] neatly bound in embossed cloth and lettered in gold, Price 9s 6d; or in Monthly Parts, Price 2s each. Division the First of *Constantinople*

⁶³⁸ see Diana Brooks, op. cit. p. 34.

and its Environs; with the scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated comprising In a Series of Drawings, taken during a Nine Months' Residence by Thomas Allom Esq; with an historical account etc by the Reverend Robert Walsh. To secure such Drawings as would not only faithfully portray the landscape portion of these interesting localities, but, in addition, the habits, manners, religious peculiarities, customs and costumes, that so strikingly distinguish the Osmanli from every other native of Europe, the Publishers engaged the services of Mr Allom, whose reputation as an artist has already advanced him to a high rank in his profession. His figures are always happily grouped, and introduced for some object of instruction: and as no part of Europe is less known from written history than 'the land of those who bend the knee at Mecca', so, none can more advantageously be placed before the public in expressive scenic representation than the Turkish Empire. The Drawings, on their arrival in London, were exhibited at *The Graphic Society* and *Artists' Conversazione* and excited universal admiration.

Exhibition of watercolours by travelling artists either in galleries or at *conversazioni* were frequent throughout the 1830s; for example *Arnold's Magazine* for 1831 reported on *Artist's and Amateur Conversazioni* including meetings at The London Coffee House, Ludgate Street on the third Thursday evening of November, December, January, February, March and April at 8pm. The Honourable Secretary and Treasurer was Frederick Westley of Stationer's Hall Court. Westley was a well known publisher. In April 1831 *Arnold's Magazine* reported that a rich collection of drawings by Bonington, Turner, Prout, Copley Fielding &c were brought by Mr Mawe and Mr Griffiths. The London Coffee House was owned by John Leech's father until his bankruptcy in 1835. New members at the Artists' and Amateurs Conversazione in 1830 included Lieutenant Colonel Batty, David Roberts and Samuel Prout, a portfolio of works by Prout, Roberts, Copley Fielding, Stothard, Cox and Thomas Boys ('a young artist of rich promise') was shown by Mr George Morant.⁶³⁹ A third meeting of the Artist's and Amateur's Conversazione was held on Wednesday 5 January, 1831 at the Freemason's Tavern where 'the tables were loaded with portfolios of original drawings'.⁶⁴⁰

In June and July of 1833 the publishers Moon, Boys and Graves showed 66 Turner watercolours from the *Picturesque Views of England and Wales* series and 12 watercolours to illustrate the poems of Sir Walter Scott in their gallery. These watercolours would serve as the basis for the engravers and also to encourage subscribers to sign up for the book (which in the case of *Picturesque Views of England and Wales*, of the 100 subscribers most failed to take up); also on 3 July 1833 a *Conversazione* was held at 8.30pm where those present included Thomas Stothard, William Etty, Clarkson Stanfield, William Brockedon⁶⁴¹ and Sams (the

⁶³⁹ *Literary Gazette* of 1830, p. 739.

⁶⁴⁰ *Arnold's Magazine* 1831, pp. 80, 175-176. John Leech was the cartoonist and friend of Charles Dickens.

⁶⁴¹ Brockedon, author and traveller in the Alps, but also later he provided the descriptions for David Roberts' *Egypt and Nubia*, F.G. Moon (London, 1843-49).

traveller in Egypt and the Holy Land). The following year, in 1834, Allom exhibited two interiors at Exeter Hall in the Strand during the *Architectural Society Conversazione*.⁶⁴²

The exhibition of Allom's Turkish scenes at *The Graphic Society* and *Artists' Conversazione* may explain why there exist a number of watercolours rather than the usual sepia brown washes which were usually worked up for the engravers. Indeed there is confirmation that these were watercolours in a later advert for *Fisher's Series of Foreign Views* in 1843, where it is stated: '*Constantinople and the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated from beautiful coloured drawings* [my italics] made expressly for the work during a residence of several months by Thomas Allom Esq'.⁶⁴³ The watercolours are all of the same size (about 8 x 11 inches) and, if dated, are usually from June and July 1838 [figs. 149 and 150]. Diana Brooks believes them to be 'the finest Turkish watercolours he produced - they possess a freshness and immediacy, indicating a response to a recent experience'.⁶⁴⁴ The *Athenaeum* commented:

Mr Allom has caught the picturesque features of The City of the Sultan with great success: his drawings are clear and brilliant, animated, but not too crowded, by picturesque and appropriate figures.⁶⁴⁵

Allom's trip, probably paid for by the publisher, Fisher, Son & Co, was a defining moment for the 34-year-old artist. Throughout his life Allom was to reproduce different versions of his Turkish pictures and Brooks declares that 'Allom defines the images of pre-modern Turkey, much as David Roberts does in Egypt'.⁶⁴⁶

In 1839 Allom produced 21 illustrations drawn on stone (Lithographs) for *Character and Costume in Turkey and Italy* by Emma Reeve, published by Fisher, Son & Co and lithographed by C. Hullmandel. This is in the same year and in the same lithographic establishment as Thomas Shotter Boys's *Picturesque Architecture in Paris, Ghent, Antwerp and Rouen*. The preface states that the drawings:

were taken by Mr Allom during a residence of some months in those delightful regions... the efforts of his pencil, they are portraiture of things and individuals as they exist, and claim at least the merit of fidelity. The Series consists of 12 Italian subjects and 8 of Turkey [actually 9 if one includes the title page image of *The Sultan in his State Caïque*], embodying many peculiarities of customs, manners and dress, which have been seldom referred to by travellers, and never given to the public in a form like the present.

⁶⁴² Exeter Hall was also one of the principal gathering places of Evangelicals, see 'Christian Philanthropy in London 1830-1850' by Dr Stephen Orchard, Gresham College Lecture, 4 April, 2005 - www.gresham.ac.uk.

⁶⁴³ Twelve page brochure (recto/verso) of Fishers' publications bound into the back of Mrs Ellis' *Wives of England*, 1843.

⁶⁴⁴ Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op.cit. p. 35.

⁶⁴⁵ Taken from a brochure of Fisher's publications bound into the back of Mrs Ellis' *Wives of England*, 1843.

⁶⁴⁶ Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op.cit. p. 35.

Indeed Allom exhibited 4 watercolours in 1839 at the Royal Society of British Artists that can be directly linked to these lithographs: *Peasant of Sora*, watercolour number 587, (Lithograph Plate 3: *Peasant of Sora at the Shrine of the Virgin*); *Peasant boy of the Abruzzi*, watercolour number 641, (Lithograph Plate 19: *Vintage of the Abruzzi*); *Pifferari, Rome*,⁶⁴⁷ watercolour number 646, (Lithograph 14: *The Pifferari, Rome*); *Sketch of a Brigand Chief*, watercolour number 673, (Lithograph 8: *The Brigand Family. Sonina*). These four lithographs are of Italian subjects. The 12 Italian subjects do not appear in Walsh's *Constantinople* and Diana Brooks suggests that Allom may have spent time in Italy as he mentions seeing the Pantheon flooded by the Tiber in a lecture given in 1856.⁶⁴⁸ The nine Turkish plates, with slight changes in the title, mostly follow those in Walsh's *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor* and were probably from the same drawings that were used for the steel engravings. However the lithographs are much finer and closer to the artist's original work.⁶⁴⁹ The illustrations to *Character and Costume in Turkey and Italy* are accompanied by quotes from Shakespeare, Goldsmith, Coleridge, Byron, Moore, Rogers, Burns, Roscoe, Parnell, Thomson, Milton, Prior, Spenser and Beattie. This reflects the type of commentary given to illustrations that appeared in the *Annuals*.

Unfortunately the 1983 Allom Sale catalogue did not illustrate any of the 27 lots dedicated to Allom's designs for *Constantinople and Asia Minor* and only one of the five lots in the 1985 Allom sale was illustrated, alas in black and white although it was a watercolour. Diana Brooks, having only limited space in her study of Allom's total oeuvre as architect, artist and draughtsman, was nevertheless able to publish a coloured reproduction of *Summer Houses and the Castle of Europe on the Bosphorous* from the Searight Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum. However this is dated 1846 and Brooks states that Allom produced in the 1840s a series of large watercolours based on his earlier topographical works but of a more finished production and 'almost certainly intended for sale'.⁶⁵⁰ Brooks reproduced as well, in black and white, Allom's watercolour *Entrance to the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem* dated 1838 (11 x 8 inches, 280 x 210mm), also in the Searight Collection.

⁶⁴⁷ Turner exhibited *Modern Italy - the Pifferari* at the Royal Academy in 1838, the year that Allom finished at the Royal Academy as an architectural student. The Pifferari are wandering musicians who came down from the mountains (Abruzzi) and went round Rome, traditionally at Christmas, dressed in broad coats of brown cloth, pointed hats and played on bagpipes and oboe. Sir David Wilkie painted *The Pifferari*, signed and dated 1827 (Collection H.M. The Queen) after seeing them in Rome during Christmas 1825.

⁶⁴⁸ Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op.cit. p. 34 and notes 42 and 43 on p. 104. Lecture given at the opening of The Architectural Exhibition, *The Builder*, 1856, pp. 99-101.

⁶⁴⁹ see this comment in Bernard J. Shapero Rare Books Catalogue under *Greece and Ottoman* p.53 item 93 and Shapero states that Walsh's *Constantinople* 'ranks as one of the most attractive steel-engraved books of the period' (stock number 78797 internet search 1/7/09).

⁶⁵⁰ Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op. cit, p. 36.

At the time Allom was in Constantinople, David Roberts was travelling to Egypt and the Holy Land for 11 months between 1838-39. Roberts' *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt and Nubia* was published in 1842 by F.G Moon and continued until 1849 with hand-coloured lithographed plates by Louis Haghe at an estimated cost of £10,000. Samuel Carter Hall commented that Moon's fame rested with Roberts' *Holy Land* and that 'Roberts got little, the publisher much'.⁶⁵¹ The work appeared in two stages: *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia* in 20 parts (1846-49) with text by Rev. Dr Croly and *Egypt and Nubia* in another 20 parts with text by William Brockedon.⁶⁵² The whole set comprised of 248 lithographs. Twyman provides an interesting description of Roberts's technique:

Roberts's style of water-colour painting was ideally translated into tinted lithography. He belonged to the older tradition of water-colour painting that continued into the middle of the nineteenth century. First of all he would establish his outlines with a pencil, often using a straight edge, and would then lay on a series of washes which allowed the original drawing to show through. Frequently the foundation washes were almost monochrome, forming much the same basis for the drawing as the tint stone did in lithography. Stronger colours were reserved for figures and accessories, and Roberts added these last of all in much the same way as a print would be coloured by hand.⁶⁵³

The great advantage of Robert's *Holy Land* is that it is in colour. Allom's designs in Walsh's *Constantinople and Asia Minor Illustrated* were in black and white. However to purchase a set of Robert's works was expensive: prints tinted in paper parts £43.1s. and up to £86. 2s for coloured and mounted in thin cloth cases. Twyman makes a very good point when discussing the lithographed works of Roberts, Harding, and Boys:

All these publications, and many others, are picture based, and anyone who tries to read the text of the large folio volumes of *The Holy Land* soon realises that the format was chosen for viewing rather than reading.⁶⁵⁴

Robert's friend John Frederick Lewis travelled to Constantinople in 1840 and spent a year sketching and painting 'Soldiers, Gypsies, Circassians, Levantine Ladies, Turkish girls' etc.⁶⁵⁵ In 1841 Lewis sailed to Egypt where he remained for ten years. M. Lewis makes an important point when he says that 'Lewis, Roberts, Wilkie and Muller had an entirely different approach to the topographical draughtsmen like Bartlett'.⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵¹ Samuel Carter Hall, *Retrospective of a long life from 1815 to 1883* (London, 1883) p. 338.

⁶⁵² source: Michael Twyman, *Lithography 1800-1850, the techniques of drawing on stone in England and France and their application in works of topography* (London, 1970) pp. 220-221; Abbey *Travel* 385; Rohricht 1984; Lipperheide 1590; Tooley 401; Tobler 229; Blackmer 1432; Bernard Shapero Rare Books, *Spring Miscellany 2004*, p. 29 and Marlborough Rare Books, *Catalogue 194* (2003) number 171, p. 47.

⁶⁵³ Twyman, op.cit. pp. 221-222.

⁶⁵⁴ Michael Twyman, 'The illustration revolution', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, edited David McKitterick (Cambridge, 2009) p. 121.

⁶⁵⁵ M. Lewis points out that Lewis's illustrations of Constantinople were actually done before he left England and are after designs by Coke Smyth 1836-38. See M. Lewis, op. cit. p. 20.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 20.

Much later in Allom's life, towards the 1860s, a series of large oil paintings by Allom of the *Seven Churches of Asia Minor* were bought by George Virtue.⁶⁵⁷ When Allom died on 21 October 1872 *The Builder* said in its obituary that the *Seven Churches of Asia Minor* oil paintings in Mr Virtue's Collection were now exhibiting at the Crystal Palace.⁶⁵⁸ Allom also painted a *Panorama of Constantinople and the Dardanelles* shown in 1850 at the Exhibition Theatre adjoining the Polytechnic in Regent Street and again shown in 1854 at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly. His large watercolours and oils of the 1860s were, as Brooks points out, based on his earlier topographical designs.⁶⁵⁹

The author of *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated* was the Irish born Robert Walsh (1772-1852), who, in 1820 accepted the post of the chaplaincy to the British Embassy at Constantinople and who wrote a *Narrative of a journey from Constantinople to England* published by F. Westley and A.H. Davis in 1828, and *Residence at Constantinople during the Greek and Turkish Revolutions* (2 vols, F. Westley and A.H. Davis, London, 1836). He also wrote for the *Annals* during the 1830s.⁶⁶⁰ It is unfortunate that there are no documents or correspondence concerning this key Fisher publication and one of Allom's most important works. We are informed in Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* of 1844 that the illustration of the *Governor's House, Philadelphia* (Thomas Allom, E. Challis) has a portrait of the artist sitting on the extreme right showing his portfolio of sketches [fig. 151].

At exactly the same time that Fisher was publishing *Constantinople and Asia Minor Illustrated*, the rival publishing house, Virtue, brought out *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* (Virtue, 1838-40) with designs after Bartlett and letter-press by Julia Pardoe [figs. 154 and 155]. A couple of years earlier, in 1837, Bartlett had mentioned Miss Pardoe in a letter to Dr Beattie. He had referred to her work and had written that it 'must be read with caution from what I hear'.⁶⁶¹ This is probably *City of the Sultan: and domestic manners of the Turks* published by Henry Colburn in 1837. This was Miss Pardoe's account of her nine months in

⁶⁵⁷ These appear as Engravings in the *Art Journal* 1863 with an article by J.C.M. Bellew and Allom's obituary in the *Art Journal* 1872 says that the pictures were painted expressly for Mr George Virtue. Present whereabouts unknown see Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op.cit. p.49 and p. 107, note 90.

⁶⁵⁸ *The Builder*, 26 October 1872, vol.30, p.840. George Virtue had died in 1868, his sons were George Henry, William A and James Sprent Virtue. It is probably James Sprent Virtue who inherited the pictures on George Virtue's death. Present whereabouts of these paintings unknown.

⁶⁵⁹ Diana Brooks, op. cit. pp. 48-49.

⁶⁶⁰ See *ODNB* (2004) and (1899) for Walsh. He wrote *Shreds and Patches* for *The Amulet* of 1836, pp. 283-300.

⁶⁶¹ Letter from Bartlett to Beattie, number 8 in Appendix 1, section IV. He also mentions Miss Pardoe in a letter to Beattie in May 1840 (Letter 5).

Constantinople in 1836. Subsequently Virtue engaged her to write the text for *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* (1838-40). On page four Miss Pardoe exclaimed that she felt:

... conjured back, as by magic, in gazing on the extraordinarily faithful and admirable sketches which lie upon my table in 'merrie England', from the pencil of Mr. Bartlett...

It is significant that in the late 1830s and early 1840s a large number of books were published on Greece and the Ottoman Empire. Artists, wealthy amateurs, professional people were all travelling and then publishing *Journals* or *Accounts* of their travels. Christopher Wordsworth, the nephew of William Wordsworth, made a tour of Greece in 1832-33 and in 1839 John Murray published his *Greece, Descriptive and Historical*. The following is a typical selection of the type of person and publication that was published around 1842. The wealthy aristocrats had now taken to their yachts and had abandoned the Grand Tour itinerary of the 18th century, yet the vocabulary they used for the published title such as 'Narrative' or 'Journal' was very much in the tradition of the Grand Tour. In 1842 John Murray published Lady E.M. Grosvenor's *Narrative of a Yacht Voyage in the Mediterranean during the years 1840-41* which covered Spain, the Black Sea, Constantinople, Smyrna and Greece and was illustrated with 26 lithographed plates; a second Murray publication in 1842 was William J. Hamilton's *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia* containing 12 lithographed plates. Hamilton was a geologist (in 1837 he was elected President of the Royal Geographic Society) and travelled in the Levant between 1835-37 starting from Constantinople and Smyrna. William Blackwood published in 1842 William Mure's *Journal of a Tour in Greece and the Ionian Islands, with remarks on the recent history, present state and classical antiquities*. The book contained 14 plates and is an account of a journey Mure made in 1838. David Roberts returned from Egypt and the Holy Land in July 1839. Edmund Spencer published *Travels in Circassia, Krim-Tartary* in 1839. In Paris Baron Taylor and Louis Reybaud published *La Syrie, L'Egypte, La Palestine et La Judée* with lithographs by Dauzats, Meyer, Cicéri fils, engraved by H. Finden in 1839. David Wilkie was in the Near East and died at sea on the journey home in 1841. As has been said, J.F. Lewis was also in the Near East, spending a year at Constantinople (1840-41) before staying ten years in Egypt (1841-51). Lady Francis Egerton's *Journal of a Tour in the Holy Land in May and June 1840* was published in 1841 for private circulation. It contained four lithographed plates by Thomas Allom after drawings by Lord Egerton and was printed by Hullmandel.⁶⁶² John Lloyd Stephens (1805-52), known as 'the American Traveller', published, under the name George Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land* (New York, 1837) followed by *Incidents of*

⁶⁶² See Blackmer 536; Abbey *Travel* 384; Tobler 164 but not in Brooks. Lord Egerton was vice president of the British Institution.

Travel in Greece, Turkey, Russia and Poland (New York, 1838) with illustrations by Frederick Catherwood.⁶⁶³ In 1842 Bartlett made another visit to the Middle East and Roberts returned to the Holy Land between 1842-45. In 1843-44 the artist W.J. Muller accompanies Sir Charles Fellow's Expedition to Xanthus, Turkey (Lycia). Muller was financed by Lord Egerton.⁶⁶⁴ Christopher Wordsworth's *Greece, Pictorial, Descriptive and Historical* was published by William Orr (London, 1844) and was illustrated with 28 steel engravings and numerous wood engravings. In August to September 1845 Bartlett travelled 700 miles up the Nile and between October and December 1845 Bartlett was in the Middle East to the east of the gulf of Suez towards Mount Serbal and then east again to the gulf of Akaba, north of Petra. By 1845 Turner made his last ever foreign trips, both to Northern France. What is significant is that by about 1842 the market is saturated with books and views on the Middle East. When Bartlett returned from his visit in 1842 he was unable to find a publisher for his sketches for five years despite his special relationship with the publisher George Virtue.⁶⁶⁵

5.14 Scotland Illustrated (George Virtue, 1838-40).

Scotland Illustrated is not a Fisher publication but was produced by their rival publishers Virtue and written by William Beattie. The title page states *Scotland Illustrated* in a series of views taken expressly for this work by Messrs. T. Allom, W.H. Bartlett and H. McCulloch. However 90 of the 120 plates are after designs by Thomas Allom and 18 are after Bartlett. Brooks notes that Allom's Scottish sketches bear various dates between 1834-38 and that some are inscribed with notes or instructions indicating that Allom may have had an assistant.⁶⁶⁶ Part Publication began in March 1835 and in Part 3 Bartlett's name is dropped from the cover. Part 5, dated 1 September 1835, has a small slip inserted inside the front cover stating [fig. 156]:

The Proprietors of Dr. Beattie's *Scotland Illustrated* beg to express their regret that the Fifth Part was not ready for delivery as early as anticipated, in consequence of the Artist being on tour in Scotland, to complete the Sketches necessary for the subsequent Parts of the Work; and beg to assure their Subscribers, that every exertion will be made to prevent a recurrence of any delay, and that each of the following parts will be delivered on the first of every successive month.

It seems possible that Virtue 'borrowed' Allom from Fisher owing to the frequent absence abroad of their principal artist W.H. Bartlett. In 1832 Bartlett was in Paris and Switzerland and his letters to Beattie show that he was preparing the designs for *Switzerland Illustrated*

⁶⁶³ The same Frederick Catherwood who met Robert Hay and Joseph Bonomi in Malta and who published *Landscape illustrations of the Bible* (1836).

⁶⁶⁴ William James Muller (1812-45), source Agnews *103rd Annual Exhibition*, 19 Jan-20 Feb 1976, no. 220, p.28 - *A ruined Mosque, Baalbek*.

⁶⁶⁵ see Henry Stebbings' *The Christian in Palestine, or scenes of Sacred History*, George Virtue (London, 1847).

⁶⁶⁶ Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op.cit. pp.32, 36, and p.104 note 47. The assistant was Samuel Bough apprenticed to Allom c.1838-39.

(published in parts from 1834),⁶⁶⁷ in 1833 Bartlett exhibited at the Royal Academy two Rhine pictures from his ten day trip in 1831: *Castle of Lahneck near Coblentz* (sic) and *Castle of Rheinfels*. In January 1834 Bartlett went to Naples and the Middle East arriving in Beirut on 15 June 1834. In 1835 he was in Switzerland and the Waldenses in April and in May, he wrote from Martigny to Beattie on 6 June advising him of the best route, best inns to stay and people to see. By the end of 1835 and beginning of 1836 Bartlett was in Holland and Belgium sketching for Professor van Kampen's *History and Topography of Holland and Belgium* (George Virtue, 1837) [fig. 157]. According to Beattie, Virtue also planned a work on *The Waldenses* in 1836 (published by Virtue, 1838). Bartlett's first American visit took place between July/August 1836 and July 1837 preparing for *American Scenery* (Virtue, 1840) and he was in the Middle East for seven months between 15 August 1837 and March 1838 making views for *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* (Virtue, 1838-40). Allom was to leave for Turkey in June 1837 until April 1838, so the designs for Scotland must have been made in advance of the absence of both artists.

The parallel careers of Bartlett and Allom also extended to the close proximity of their houses in London in 1837: Bartlett's address was 11 Bartholomew Place, Kentish Town and Allom lived at 51 High Street, Camden Town. One cannot read too much significance into this other than to note that this area would have been affordable by young professionals at that time. In 1837 Allom's entry at the Royal Academy Exhibition was suitably Scottish in theme being *Tournament from Ivanhoe* after the novel by Walter Scott (number 871). However, in G.N. Wright's *Landscape-Historical Illustrations of Scotland and the Waverley Novels* (Fisher, 1838) there is an engraving of *The Rescue of Ivanhoe* after Allom and engraved by R. Staines, dated Fisher, Son & Co., London and Paris, 1838. So possibly the Royal Academy Exhibition picture is linked with this publication.

The Preface written by Beattie in October 1837 declares that three years' uninterrupted progress was necessary to produce *Scotland Illustrated* and that it followed on from the previous work *Switzerland Illustrated*. The 120 highly finished engravings on steel were from original drawings by Mr Allom and Mr Bartlett and that, except for two, every view was taken on the spot, and transferred to the steel plates with 'a force and fidelity which reflect the greatest credit on the engravers'. Volume two mentions that the engravings were done under

⁶⁶⁷ Letter from Bartlett to Beattie from Lausanne dated 21 March 1832 in William Beattie Collection, Holborn Local Studies Centre ST2/1B/27 Box of Mss (A/47). Also see Appendix 1, Section 4 for a transcription of select letters to or from Bartlett.

the direction of Robert Wallis. In volume II, when listing the plates, the artists are given ciphers: A- Allom; B- Bartlett; C- Campion; McC- McCulloch and P- Purser. In fact there are 2 plates after Campion, 4 after McCulloch and 2 after Purser. Beattie excuses a certain lack of coordination between the images and the text by saying:

... In travelling, therefore, over the same district, it has often been found impossible for the pen and the pencil to keep pace with each other; for the same field that is barren of every picturesque feature, may be rich, nevertheless, in every patriotic recollection: and thus, where the engraving has been allowed to speak for itself the text has been occupied in filling up the moral picture from history and tradition.

Beattie goes on to say that the work cost £40,000 to produce. And adds that:

These volumes have been the means of stimulating native talent; of bringing obscure merit into notice; and of providing during the progress of publication, upwards of a thousand families and individuals with regular employment. The fact cannot be too generally known that the patronage bestowed on illustrated works of this class, is not so much calculated to benefit the few who are responsible, as the many through whose hands they must necessarily pass before they are in a condition to meet the public eye.

However, three years later in 1841, the Scottish publisher and publisher of Sir Walter Scott, Robert Cadell complained bitterly after the failure to make money out of his *Waverley* copyright by producing one last illustrated edition:

... too late, too dear, our own dear land... has been hackneyed from Fisher & Co. upwards, the mind of the public is diseased...⁶⁶⁸

In his *History of Longmans*, Asa Briggs remarks that Robert Cadell also disliked Longman and Rees precisely because they had dealt solely or jointly with so many Scott titles: 'Longman Co. are a damned shabby set'.⁶⁶⁹

The *Waverley Novels* had first been published in 1814 by Constable and Cadell. During Scott's lifetime in 1829 Cadell published an edition of the *Waverley Novels* comprising 48 volumes with 96 Engravings. In 1842 Cadell published what he called the *Abbotsford Edition* with about two thousand illustrations combining both steel and wood engravings. In the first volume *Waverley* there are 5 engravings on steel with designs after Clarkson Stanfield and 125 engravings on wood under the superintendence of Mr W. Dickes. In his notice to the *Abbotsford Edition* Cadell wrote:

The Proprietors of the *Waverley Novels* have had great satisfaction in the results of their efforts to bring those works in convenient form within the reach of the less opulent classes of the community. The issue in weekly sheets, price 2s. per sheet, had a sale of no less than 25,000 at starting; which within a fortnight rose to 60,000. But while preparing the cheap popular impression which has been received so favourably, the Proprietors were also taking measures for an Edition of a different character. *This is the age of graphically illustrated Books* [my italics]; and it remained to affix to these works, so interwoven everywhere with details of historical and antiquarian interest, such *Engraved Embellishments* [my

⁶⁶⁸ Hunnisett, *Steel Engraved Book Illustration in England* (1980), op.cit. p. 129.

⁶⁶⁹ Asa Briggs, op. cit. p. 208.

italics] as, had the Author himself been now alive, his personal tastes and resources would most probably have induced him to place before students of antiquity and lovers of art.⁶⁷⁰

With the death of Sir Walter Scott in 1832 there had been a deluge of books about Scotland.⁶⁷¹ However pictorial interest in Scott had begun much earlier and as one critic has put it: 'from 1811 onward no exhibition was without paintings representing Scott topography'.⁶⁷² In *Scotland Illustrated* Allom's design *Abbotsford* (T. Allom, engraved T. Prior) includes a detail of a man reading on a chair in the garden accompanied by a dog. The text informs us that this is Sir Walter Scott. This same simple device of inserting a man and a dog was used for Lord Brougham in the engraving of *Brougham Hall* in 5.4. Within the broad compass of *Scotland Illustrated* one finds a range of iconographic themes: Castles - in the style of country seats such as the animated harvesting scene in front of *Inverary Castle* [fig. 158], ruined picturesque castles such as *Bothwell Castle on the Clyde* [fig. 159], castles peopled with costume dramas or historical incidents as in *Inner Court of the Palace of Linlithgow* [fig. 160]; Lakes - *The Head of Loch Lomond* with both sail boats and a paddle steamer [fig. 161], *Oban during the Regatta* complete with tartan clad locals [fig. 162], *Ben Nevis and the entrance to the Caledonian Canal* [fig. 163]; Cathedrals and Abbeys - ruined like *Kelso* [fig. 164], or significant like *Dryburgh* with the guide pointing to the burial place of Sir Walter Scott [fig. 165].

Holloway lists 24 Scottish topographical works produced in the nineteenth century but ten of them were published in the 1830s and the list is by no means complete. Slightly earlier in 1826, during his lifetime, Sir Walter Scott had published the two-volume *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (John and Arthur Arch, Cornhill, London and William Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1826). There were fifty steel-engraved views. This is quite early for steel engravings. Volume One contained 21 plates and Volume Two had 29 plates. The publishers took care to commission quality artists and engravers. In 1818 Turner was approached and between 1819 and 1826 he produced a series of designs. Nine designs were after J.M.W. Turner (plus two title vignettes)⁶⁷³ and others were by Rev. J. Thomson, E.

⁶⁷⁰ Robert Cadell, Notice to Abbotsford Edition *Waverley Novels*, January 17, 1842, pp.3-4. Cadell adds that 'the prominent scenery described in the novels has been adhered to with the utmost care by Clarkson Stanfield R.A, who spent last summer in its investigation, and has already finished whatever was needed for the earlier novels'.

⁶⁷¹ see Richard Maxwell, 'Walter Scott, Historical Fiction, and the Genesis of the Victorian Illustrated Book' in *The Victorian Illustrated Book* (Charlottesville and London, 2002), pp. 1-51.

⁶⁷² Quoted in George Dekker, *The Fictions of romantic tourism: Radcliffe, Scott and Mary Shelley* (Stanford, 2005), p. 155.

⁶⁷³ The Turner's are: Crichton Castle (engraved George Cooke); Borthwick Castle (H. Le Keux); High Street, Edinburgh (the figures etched by G. Cooke, engraved by H. Le Keux); Edinburgh from the Calton Hill (George Cooke); Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh (figures etched by G. Cooke and plate engraved by H. Le Keux); Roslin Castle (W.R. Smith); Dunbar (J.C. Allen); Tantallon Castle (E. Goodall); Linlithgow Palace (R. Wallis). One of the title vignettes looks Masonic with a pair of interlaced hands and above a boat, a pegasus horse with star.

Blore and A.W. Callcott. The engravers included: George Cooke, W.Lizars, J. Le Keux, H. Le Keux, W. Finden, R. Sands, G. Hollis, W. Woolnoth, J.C. Allen, W.R. Smith, W. Cooke junior, W. Miller, E. Goodall, and Robert Wallis. Four of them, Robert Wallis, W.R. Smith, R. Sands, W. Woolnoth would be part of the team who engraved *Scotland Illustrated*. Indeed Robert Wallis also was one of the engravers for Leitch Ritchies' *Scott and Scotland (Heath's Picturesque Annual)* with 21 plates after designs by George Cattermole published by Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman (London, 1835). Many of the same subjects were also taken for the views: Roslyn Chapel, Dunbar Castle, Tantallon Castle, Hawthornden, Heriot's Hospital, Holyrood Chapel, Linlithgow and views of Edinburgh including the de rigeur famous one from the Calton Hill.

Yet *Scotland Illustrated* was more wide ranging and covered most of Scotland including the *Lakes* that Joseph Swan had illustrated such as Loch Katrine - little known until Sir Walter Scott published *The Lady of the Lake* and, as John Leighton said in *Swan's Lakes of Scotland*: 'It is now visited by almost every stranger who comes to Scotland'. Both Swan's *Lakes* and Virtue's *Scotland Illustrated* have views of Loch Katrine and Helen's Isle, as well as Loch Auchray and Loch Lomond.

In 1830-32, a few years before the genesis of Virtue's *Scotland Illustrated*, the Glaswegian engraver, Joseph Swan, started part publication of *Select Views of the Lakes of Scotland* from original paintings by John Fleming, engraved by Joseph Swan with historical and descriptive illustrations by John M. Leighton [fig. 166]. Each quarto part cost 5s. 6d with three engravings and a vignette on the title wrapper (the same view of *Loch Lomond* for each number). Other than the title vignette Part One had 3 views of *Loch Lomond*. Part Two had 3 views of Loch Katrine and Part Three had one view of *Loch Katrine*, one of *Loch Achray* and one of *Loch Venachoir* [fig. 167], both these parts are dated 1832 but the reviews for Part One are mostly dated September 1830. The conditions on the wrapper stated:

The Work will be published in successive Parts, at intervals of two or three months. The Plates to be engraved in the finest line manner. Each View will be accompanied by a full Letter Press Description, explanatory of the more prominent objects which it presents; and a general Historical and Descriptive Account of each Lake and its adjacent Scenery will be given. Each Part will be illustrative of One, and occasionally Two of the principal Lakes. The whole will be completed in about 12 or 14 Parts. The Work is so printed, that it ranges with, and forms a suitable companion, not only to the Views in Glasgow, and Views on the River Clyde, already completed by the same Publisher but also with all the principal works of a similar kind published of late years.⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁷⁴ Swan's *Picturesque Views on the River Clyde* from drawings by J. Fleming and text by J.M. Leighton was published in parts by Swan in Glasgow and by Moon, Boys and Graves in London. *The Literary Gazette* 1830, p. 291 advertised parts XIII and XIV stating 'these parts complete Mr Swan's clever and interesting publication, which comprehends upwards of 42 plates'.

The size of the Engravings will be 7.5 inches by 5, a size which affords ample scope for the proper delineation of every object embraced in the View. The Publisher begs farther to state, that he has obtained a supply of very superior India Paper, which for purity, clearness, and colour, will be found equal to any which has yet met the public eye.

The Publisher hopes he may be allowed farther to add, that he now affords to Tourists and Collectors an opportunity of possessing themselves of Views of all the Lake Scenery of Scotland - an object which, however desirable, has been hitherto unattainable.

The Scottish Book Trade Index⁶⁷⁵ lists Joseph Swan (1796-1872) as an engraver and copper-plate printer at the following addresses and dates in Glasgow: 124 Trongate (1818-20); 80 Trongate (1823-25); 161 Trongate (1828-34) and as a Lithographer and Lithographic printer at 21 Royal Exchange and 161 Trongate (1837-40). Indeed the front wrapper of parts two and three of *Select Views of the Lakes of Scotland* has the 161 Trongate address. Holloway lists 7 works by Swan (five works are all in the 1830s but two others are much later reprints).⁶⁷⁶ In *Steel Engraved Books in England* (1980) Hunnisett reproduces a photograph of Joseph Swan and, deriving his information from Thomas Murdoch's *The Early History of Lithography in Glasgow 1816-1902* (Glasgow, 1902), states that Swan arrived in Glasgow around 1818 and that he was recorded as an engraver, publisher, copper-plate and lithographic printer who produced eight important works with steel engraved plates. He adds that Swan was one of the first to operate a steam-powered lithographic press and that later he had a dozen or more on which he printed *Swan's Universal Copy Books*. He employed 5 or 6 copper-plate printers among them Willie Kirkland, John Hutcheson, R.M. Steven and two picture engravers Henry Bell and William Marshall.⁶⁷⁷

The inside back cover of Parts II and III carry favourable reviews for Swan's *Lakes* from the following journals of London, Edinburgh and Glasgow and other parts of Scotland: *Sun*, *The Literary Gazette*, *Athenaeum*, *Spectator*, *The Court Journal*, *The Examiner*, *Scotsman*, *New North Briton*, *Edinburgh Literary Journal*, *Scots Times*, *Glasgow Free Press*, *Glasgow Courier*, *Aberdeen Journal*, *Greenock Advertiser*, *Stirling Journal*, *Perthshire Courier*, *Ayr Advertiser* and *Elgin Courier* which seems to indicate quite a healthy regional Press in Scotland. The *New North Briton* comments: 'The Engraving is of a very superior style, and

⁶⁷⁵ See www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/sbti.

⁶⁷⁶ Holloway, op. cit, no.81: *Select Views of the Lakes of Scotland* (49 engravings on steel), Joseph Swan, Glasgow and Hodgson, Boys & Graves, London, 1836, 2nd edition; no.84: C. Mackie, *Historical description of the town of Paisley* (with 6 engravings on steel), Joseph Swan, Glasgow and Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, London, 1835; no.85: C. Mackie, *Historical description of the town of Dundee* (with 12 engravings on steel), Joseph Swan, Glasgow and Smith, Elder & Co., Cornhill, London, 1836; no. 135: *Select Views on the River Clyde* (42 engravings on steel), Joseph Swan, Glasgow and Moon, Boys & Graves, London, 1830; no.136: *Picturesque Views of the Falls of the Clyde* (4 engravings on steel), Joseph Swan, Glasgow and Moon, Boys & Graves, London, 1829.

⁶⁷⁷ Basil Hunnisett, *Steel Engraved Book Illustration in England* (London, 1980), p. 203.

may well vie with the first productions that issue from the London Burins'. The complete book was probably first published in 1834 (Holloway lists 1836 for a second edition) with 52 steel engravings.

If Swan's *Select Views of the Lakes of Scotland* was in the process of part-publication during 1832 then, in the same year, the London publisher Charles Tilt advertised a new edition of Finden's *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels*. Volume I comprised *Waverley* to the *Legend of Montrose*. The following artists participated:

Waverley: David Roberts, George Barret, John Duffield Harding, G.F. Robson (x 2), George Cattermole and Peter Dewint

Guy Mannering: D. Roberts, W. Westall, P. Dewint, Copley Fielding (x 2), Clarkson Stanfield

Antiquary: C. Stanfield, William Purser

Rob Roy: G. Barret, W. Westall, G.F. Robson (x 3)

Black Dwarf: C. Fielding

Old Mortality: W. Daniell, D. Roberts, R.R. Reinagle

Heart of Midlothian: A. Nasmyth, G. Barret, G.F. Robson, P. Dewint, D. Roberts,, J.D. Harding

Bridge of Lammermoor: S. Prout, C. Fielding (x 2)

Legend of Montrose: G.F. Robson (x 2), W. Daniell, J.B. Frazer

In 1833 Tilt advertised part XVII of Finden's *Landscape Illustrations to Mr Murray's first complete and uniform edition of The Life and Works of Lord Byron*.⁶⁷⁸ Shortly afterwards this work was extended from 17 to 24 parts. Artists included S. Prout, C. Stanfield, A.W. Calcott, J.D. Harding, J. Lewis, W. Westall and J.M.W. Turner. Stanfield's designs were views of Padua, Genoa, Lake Garda, Missolonghi, Rome and Verona. Lewis contributed views of Seville and the Tower of Zaragoza. Prout did Dante's Tomb, Ravenna and Ancona. One could even purchase an Appendix to the first eight parts of *Finden's Landscape and Portrait Illustrations of Lord Byron's Life and Works* by William Brockedon⁶⁷⁹ with a new and finely engraved Frontispiece by Turner and a vignette title by Stanfield priced 7 shillings royal octavo, 12 s. royal quarto and 13s royal quarto India proofs.

Those really keen on the Scott illustrated bandwagon could purchase, from Tilt of course, in parts, a companion and supplement to the *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley novels* entitled *Landscape illustrations of the Waverley novels with portraits of the principal female*

⁶⁷⁸ see Thomas Moore, *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron*... with 44 engravings by the Findens, from designs by Turner, Stanfield, etc., 3 vols, 8vo, published John Murray (London, 1833).

⁶⁷⁹ The same William Brockedon was involved with Beattie and Bartlett in Virtue's *Switzerland Illustrated* and a noted writer on the Alps having crossed it numerous times in all directions. See Appendix 1, section IV, Letter 2 (Bartlett to Britton, undated) where Bartlett mentions Brockedon's Paper on the Alps.

characters with drawings by A.F. Chalon, W. Mulready, E. Landseer and Mrs Carpenter. Part published, in ten parts at 3 shillings each.

Beattie mentions in the Preface to *Scotland Illustrated* that the plates were also in the *Scenic Annual* for 1838, edited by Thomas Campbell. Beattie was both the friend and biographer of Thomas Campbell. So the images were quickly recycled in a different publication.

5.15 Landscape-Historical Illustrations of Scotland and the Waverley Novels or Scotland and Scott Illustrated (Fisher, Son & Co, 1836-38).

Not to be outdone Fisher, Son & Co. produced its own two-volume illustrated version of Scott between 1836-38, the *Drawing Room Scrap Book* for 1836 advertises 'In Quarto parts, to be continued monthly, price one shilling each, Fisher's *Landscape-Historical Illustrations of Sir Walter Scott's Novels*' (a later edition, priced at £2. 6s., seems to be called *Scotland and Scott Illustrated* - an inversion of the 1835 *Scott and Scotland* title by Leitch Ritchie). The *Christian Keepsake* for 1838 advertises Fisher's *Waverley Forget-Me-Not* - First Series of *Scotland and Scott Illustrated* with 46 plates after Turner and Cruikshank and descriptions by G. N. Wright, priced 21 shillings. Both book versions contained 108 engravings from original drawings after J.M.W. Turner, Balmer, Bentley, Chisholm, Hart, Harding, Maclise, Melville etc, etc, with comic illustrations by George Cruikshank. Descriptions were by G.N. Wright and the titles of the engravings were in both English and French. The French version was entitled *Paysages historiques et illustrations de L'Ecosse et des romans de Walter Scott* translated by Alexandre Sosson. Intriguingly there is another French version by Clément Pellé with the title: *Nouvelles illustrations anglaises des romans de Sir Walter Scott, Bart*. This also contains 108 illustrations. Richard Maxwell makes an interesting observation concerning the different styles of images used to illustrate Scott and that narrative illustrations are least effective at authenticating a novel or poem:

There is an element of fantasy in most such reconstructions; at the same time, a reading of the *Waverley* novels accompanied by vignettes or plates of historically identifiable detritus would feel quite different than a reading accompanied by Turner's landscapes or Cruikshank's comical-narrative etchings.⁶⁸⁰

Volume Two of Wright's *Scotland and the Waverley Novels* has one plate by J.M.W. Turner of *Loch Lever Castle*, (engraved by J.B. Allen) facing page 21 and dated on the plate 1838. Also there are 4 previously unsourced Thomas Allom designs:

⁶⁸⁰ Richard Maxwell, 'Walter Scott, Historical Fiction, and the Genesis of the Victorian Illustrated Book' in *The Victorian Illustrated Book* (Charlottesville and London, 2002), p.10.

1. *The Rescue of Ivanhoe*, T. Allom, engraved R. Staines dated Fisher, Son & Co., London and Paris, 1838 (facing page 7)
2. *Kenilworth Castle*, T. Allom, W. Floyd, dated 1838 (facing p.35)
3. *The Mock Battle*, T. Allom, T.A. Prior, dated 1838 (facing p.38)
4. *Louis of France and the Count of Crevecoeur*, T. Allom, G. Presbury dated 1838 (facing p.55)

In these images Allom is straying from the strictly topographical into the historical recreation of fictional events.

Continuing the Scottish theme, between 1838-40 George Virtue also published a two volume *The Poems, Letters, and Land of Robert Burns* with illustrations by W.H. Bartlett, Thomas Allom and other artists and with a new memoir of the poet and notices, critical and biographical of his works by Allan Cunningham (1784-1842). Cunningham was a Scottish poet and author, now principally known for his sea poem 'A wet sheet and a flowing sea', but at the time best known for his *Life of Sir David Wilkie* and multi-volume *Lives of Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (1829-33). In 1834 his *The Works of Robert Burns* was published in 8 volumes. Between 1814 and 1841 he was 'clerk of the works' to the sculptor Francis Chantrey (mentioned earlier in connection with his design for a medal for a Testimonial to Sir John Soane, 1834). In *Scotland Illustrated* Dr Beattie dedicated Bartlett's design *Bridge of Doon* (W.H. Bartlett, engraved G.K. Richardson) to Allan Cunningham, as the biographer of Burns. There are 32 plates after Bartlett and one after Allom. Some of the Bartlett illustrations such as: *Alloway Kirk with Burns Monument*, *Mausoleum of Burns*, *Dumfries*, *Banks of the Water of Ayr* and *The Twa Brigs*, Ayr were taken from Beattie's *Scotland Illustrated* as was Allom's *Corra Lynn, on the Clyde*. The plates are variously dated 1838, 1839 and 1840. Thus it seems Virtue recycled images for an 'embellished edition' as the title page states.

5.16 Windsor Castle and its environs (Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1840).

Part of Heath's *Picturesque Annual* series, *Windsor Castle and its environs* was published in 1840 by Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman; Appleton and Co, New York and Fisher and Co, Paris. This suggests a concerted collaboration between Longmans and Fishers for distribution purposes. The *Picturesque Annual* measures 9 ½ x 6 ¾ inches (240 x 172 mm) It contained fifteen engravings by the first artists after original drawings including two after Allom: *St Georges Hall*. (T. Allom, W. Wallis) and *The Waterloo Gallery* (T. Allom,

J.H. Le Keux). The text was by Leitch Ritchie who edited the *Picturesque Annual* series from 1832-1840.

5.17 Heath's Picturesque Annual 1841 - Belgium in a Picturesque Tour (Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1841).

Essentially this publication covers well trodden ground traversed by both tourists and artists such as Captain Batty's *Scenery of the Rhine, Belgium and Holland* (Robert Jennings, 1826), Tombleson's *Views of the Rhine* (1832) and the more recent *Sketches on the Moselle, the Rhine and the Meuse* by Clarkson Stanfield, who had travelled on a sketching tour in 1836 and whose sketches were then lithographed by L. Haghe, T.S. Boys, W. Gauci and A. Picken and published by Hodgson and Graves in 1838. Stanfield's trip, according to Cecilia Powell, may well have been the touchstone for Turner's second Meuse-Moselle Tour of 1839 where there are striking similarities between three of Turner's and Allom's designs, numbers 13, 14 and 16 (see below). Diana Brooks reproduces several of Allom's designs for this Annual.⁶⁸¹

Heath's Picturesque Annual 1841 - Belgium was edited by Thomas Roscoe. Published by Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London, Appleton and Co, New York and Fisher and Co, Paris, with illustrated title vignette of *Bruges* [fig.168]. The book measures 9 ¼ x 6 1/2 inches (235 x 165 mm). It contains 16 plates all after Allom:

1. *Chapel of St Gudule, Brussels* (Frontispiece) - engraved T. Turnbull, plate by M'Queen [fig. 169]
2. *Tower of La Halle with Linen Market, Bruges* (Title Vignette) - T. Goodman
3. *Palace of Justice, with fine carved chimney, Bruges* - W. Wallis, dated 1840, M'Queen
4. *Grand Canal with antique gothic house, Ghent* - J.B. Allen, dated Oct. 1, 1840
5. *Church of St Bavon (sic) (interior), Ghent* - Mottram
6. *Church of St Bevon, the Beffroi, & St Nicholas by Moonlight, Ghent* - W. Radclyffe, dated Oct 1, 1840
7. *Town Hall, with insurrection of the people against Charles V, Ghent* - J. Higham (sic), M'Queen, dated Oct 1, 1840
8. *Cathedral and Market Place, Mechlin* - J.H. Le Keux, M'Queen, dated Oct. 1, 1840
9. *Church of St Paul's (interior), Antwerp* - J.C. Varrell, dated Oct. 1, 1840
10. *West Front of Cathedral of Notre Dame, Antwerp* - E. Roberts, dated Oct. 1, 1840
11. *Chamber of Representatives, from the Park, Brussels* - Bradshaw, M'Queen, dated Oct. 1, 1840
12. *Church of St Gudule (interior), with celebrated carved pulpit* - Capone, dated Oct. 1, 1840
13. *Town of Dinant upon the Meuse* - M.J. Starling, dated Oct. 1, 1840

⁶⁸¹ Brooks reproduces both the frontispiece *Chapel of St Gudule* (200 x 140mm, 8 x 5 ½ inches) and *Cathedral of St Gudule* (150 x 210mm, 6 x 8 ¼ inches), p.38. Both from a private collection.

14. *The Tower of Crevecoeur upon the Meuse* - Prior, Oct. 1, 1840
15. *Church of St James (interior), Liege* - Deeble, Oct. 1, 1840
16. *Town Hall of Louvain with part of the Cathedral* - E. Radclyffe

Thomas Roscoe had edited Jennings' *Landscape Annual* between 1830-38 which comprised: *The Tourist in Switzerland and Italy*, Samuel Prout illustrator (1830), *The Tourist in Italy*, Samuel Prout and James Duffield Harding illustrators (1831-33), *The Tourist in France*, James Duffield Harding illustrator (1834) and *The Tourist in Spain- Granada, Andalusia and Biscay and the Castilles*, David Roberts illustrator (1835-38). He had also produced *Wanderings and Excursions in North Wales* (Charles Tilt and Simpkin & Co, 1836) and *Wanderings and Excursions in South Wales* (Charles Tilt and Simpkin & Co, 1837). Sensing the dawning of the Railway Age, Charles Tilt had commissioned Roscoe to write *The London and Birmingham Railway* and *The Book of the Grand Junction Railway*, both published by Tilt in 1839.

Here for Heath's *Picturesque Annual for 1841* Roscoe sets the tone for this travelogue through Belgium in the first pages of chapter one:

Steam boats and iron railways, those grand incentives to modern travel, are peculiarly so in regard to Belgium - our favorite British highway for the continent... but what poet could have dreamed of an age of iron (the true golden age too) so glorious as ours, spreading its wings of steam far over sea and land; and in a few hours bringing countries the most remote within our familiar view? To cross the ocean, to traverse the Low countries, to be far on your route up the Rhine or the Danube, is not as formerly the work of days or weeks; and it is pleasant to reflect that you can dine with a friend at Brussels, and arrive in time to breakfast and transact your business next day in London.

Roscoe crosses from London to Ostend by steamboat and then gets on a train:

in one of those spacious and richly furnished carriages, resembling a soft and elegant boudoir, compared with the old clumsy diligences, - and proceeding, about twenty-five miles an hour, upon our road to Bruges.

Having arrived after a 30 minute train journey chapters II, III and IV are spent inspecting the art and architecture of Bruges and then Roscoe takes the train to Ghent (one hour) where he spends chapters V, VI and VII. In Chapter VIII he travels by train in a couple of hours to Malines or Mechlin, 'now more celebrated as the central point of Belgian railways, than as the ancient seigniory which formed one of the seventeen united provinces'. The accompanying illustration of *Mechlin Cathedral and Market-Place* is very 'Proutish' down to the striped (blue and white) awnings on the shops which is almost a trade mark of Samuel Prout [fig. 170]. By the end of chapter VIII he is on a train to Antwerp which he explores in chapters IX and X. In chapter XI he is again on a train heading to Brussels and comments:

The canal from Antwerp to Malines, and the old diligences that used to occupy four hours in reaching Brussels, are no longer under requisition. For three francs and a half, the traveller now performs the distance, upwards of thirty miles, in less than an hour and a half by steam.

Chapters XI, XII and XIII are spent visiting Brussels and in chapter XIV he heads south to the Meuse with an obligatory stop en route at the Battlefield of Waterloo. 'Our object was the banks of the Sambre and the Meuse; the picturesque scenery round the towns of Namur, Dinant, Liege, Spa, and in the old forests and vales of the Ardennes'. Roscoe comments on Allom's view of the town of Dinant. [fig. 171]:

The approach *from the point in which the artist took the accompanying view*, [my italics] is striking and picturesque; and when the evening sun gilds the spire of Notre Dame, and the salient parts of the fortress and surrounding hills, it appears illumined with a golden flood.

In the next paragraph Roscoe launches into the legend of Crevecoeur

after visiting the romantic castles of Freir, Walsin, and the vast Roche Bayard, pierced by Louis XIV, we crossed the river, to obtain a more commanding view of the splendid ruins of an antique tower, erected on the summit of a vast rock, as early as 1321, and which bears the singular name Creve-coeur, or heart-break, - derived from the circumstances which attended the fate of its former possessors. From its walls three lovely sisters... etc etc

Roscoe continues that

the ruins of the castle are still a conspicuous object, and with the character of the surrounding scenery, the wooded and jagged rocks, the bright expanding river, the town and fortress of Dinant resting upon the hills seen beyond, *as represented from the point of view in which the artist has here given them*, [my italics] with the road passing immediately under the frowning precipice, form a coup d'oeil of extreme beauty, and one which conveys an admirable impression of the scene. The effect of the sun-light upon the spires and towers; the rich hues reflected in the waters, the deep blue, and green tinged sky, threw a halo of warm and brilliant colours over the spot as we saw it, than which nothing could be more attractive to a painter's eye. It is perhaps of all the most picturesque and romantic that is to be seen along the banks of the Meuse.

Here Roscoe adds that

upon reaching the foot of the tremendous rock from which frowns the once stately castle in ruined grandeur, a handsome equipage with outriders dashed suddenly by; and looking round I beheld the royal arms and livery. It was King Leopold returning from a visit to Paris; but more immediately from his new country seat, pleasantly situated between Namur and the frontiers.

All of the above description is encapsulated and captured in Prior's 4 ¼ x 6 ½ inch engraving after the design of Thomas Allom, including the carriage of King Leopold [fig. 172]. The final chapter, XV, sees Roscoe return to admire 'the architectural miracle of Liege' - the church of St James and glimpse the town hall of Louvain [fig. 173] before ending in Antwerp.

In her study of Turner's *Rivers of Europe, Rhine, Meuse and Mosel* Cecilia Powell found similarities and parallels in the illustrative work of Turner and Allom: 'Allom's depictions of Dinant and Louvain are very close to Turner's' (p. 48 and note 14, p. 61) and she continues

'this may just be a coincidence and due to the artistic fashions of the moment, but the presence of three in that book (Roscoe's *Belgium Picturesque and Romantic*) so close to three of Turner's (see catalogue numbers 96: *Dinant, Bouvignes and Crevecœur: Sunset* c.1839, 136 x 188 mm, 5 3/8 x 7 3/8 inches, gouche and watercolour on blue paper; number 97: *Dinant from the North-west* c.1839, 133 x 190 mm, 5 1/4 x 7 1/2 inches, gouache, pen and ink, and watercolour on blue paper; and number 107: *The Town Hall, Louvain and the choir of St Peter's Church* c.1839, 140 x 188 mm, 5 1/2 x 7 3/8 inches, gouache, pen and ink, and watercolour on blue paper) suggests direct contact between the two artists'.⁶⁸²

5.18 *Family Secrets or hints to those who would make home happy* (Fisher, Son & Co, 1841). *Family Secrets* (1841) together with number 20 *The Daughters of England* (1842) and number 25 *The Wives of England* (1843) were 'conduct manuals' or advice books for middle class women written by Sarah Stickney Ellis (1799-1872), the second wife of the missionary William Ellis. *Family Secrets* is a three decker novel with a moral. One critic has recently described them as 'purveying suffocating middle-class ideologies of womanhood'.⁶⁸³ At the time a favourable critique from the *Bath Chronicle* (used in Fisher's advertising puff) declared: 'to wish prosperity to such a book as this, is to desire the moral and physical welfare of the human species'. These books, published by Fisher in the early 1840s, can be seen in the light of a long tradition of 'conduct manuals' that Fisher or Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon had published as early as 1812, for example *The Female Instructor or Young Woman's Companion, being a guide to all accomplishments which adorn the female character. The Self Instructor, or Young Man's Best Companion* had been published in 1806 and was reissued in a new improved edition with eight plates in 1824-32 and again in 1834. The surprising element here is that Fisher commissioned Thomas Allom to provide some of the genre scenes.

At first sight it would seem odd that an artist known for his architectural and topographical work should provide designs for this sort of book. But, as Diana Brooks has pointed out, many of his designs already included lively figures giving animation to his architectural backdrops and when one investigates his designs in detail, it is apparent that right from the beginning of his work for Fisher, this is present from *Devon and Cornwall Illustrated* onwards.⁶⁸⁴ Often Allom is called on to illustrate an historical episode, a busy market or street scene, or give interest to a view with a group of figures, or a fisherman in a river. Bryan's

⁶⁸² Cecilia Powell, *Turner's Rivers of Europe*, op. cit. pp.160-161 and p.166.

⁶⁸³ see the Orlando project - www.orlando.cambridge.org Also Henrietta Twyncross-Martin, 'Sarah Stickney Ellis' in *Wollstoncraft's Daughters: womanhood in England and France 1780-1920* by Clarissa Campbell Orr (Manchester and New York, 1996).

⁶⁸⁴ Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op.cit. pp. 37-43.

Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, taking its examples from *Scotland Illustrated*, said that:

in producing these illustrations he endeavoured to give these scenes additional interest by depicting the celebrated historical incidents connected with them; thus in the View of Lochiel is represented the gathering of the clans of Prince Charlie (*Passage of the Highland Army along the side of Lochiel, 1745*, T. Allom, H. Griffiths dated 1836); in that of the Castle of Doon we see prisoners taken at the battle of Falkirk (*The Castle of Doune*, T. Allom, J. Carter dated 1837); Linlithgow Palace is represented as being burnt by Hanley's dragoons (*Inner Court of the Palace of Linlithgow*, T. Allom, H. Wallis dated 1838). [fig. 160]

In volume one of *Family Secrets* the first few plates are not by Allom. The full page frontispiece is from a painting by J. Franklin, then there are three full page designs by Corbould, however, starting on page 168, the designs are by Allom who completed 26 out of the 31 designs. They are all vignette style illustrations measuring 4 x 5 ½ inches on a separate page from the text. Typical examples of the vignettes are the title vignette to volume two *The Happy Home* [fig. 174] engraved by W. Wetherhead and, from volume one, *It was the hour of final separation* engraved by G. Paterson [fig. 175], where Father and Daughter are shown draped over a coffin whilst even the dog seems to join in the mourning. Mrs Ellis dresses up her moral story with melodramatic descriptions of unhappy marriages, of orphans, lonely Fathers, alcoholic Mothers and convulsive coughs. Eleven engravers were used for the 26 plates after Allom, many such as P. Lightfoot, W. Floyd, G. Presbury, G. Paterson worked regularly on Allom designs for Fisher.

5.19 A topographical History of Surrey (Tilt and Bogue, 1841, 1845, 1848).

The author was Edward Wedlake Brayley, the long-time collaborator of John Britton assisted by John Britton and Edward Wedlake Brayley junior. It was not published by Fisher but many of the engravers are the same. The publishers are Robert Best Ede, Dorking and Tilt and Bogue, London. There are five volumes, the first three volumes are dated 1841, volume four is dated 1845 and volume five is dated 1848. A subsequent re-issue was published in the 1870s edited and revised by Edward Walford and published by Virtue & Co, 294 City Road, London.

There are a mixture of steel engravings and wood engravings within the text. Of the 219 plates, 90 are after Allom. In the later edition the text to the engraving *Loseley Castle, interior of the Drawing-Room* (T.Allom, M.J. Starling) it states 'the annexed view was sketched by Mr Allom in May 1841', whereas the original engraving was entitled *Loseley Hall (Drawing*

Room), *seat of James More Molyneux Esq.* Also in the later 1870s edition mention is made in the text, but no image, of an Allom building: Cottage Hospital in Victoria Road, Surbiton 1851 for soldiers widows - in memory of the Duke of Cambridge, the foundation stone laid by the late Prince Consort, built in brick, in the Italian style from designs by Thomas Allom, architect. The text informs us that a chapel has since been added.⁶⁸⁵

In the original edition of 1841 *Claremont* (T.Allom, T.A. Prior) was described as 'Seat of his Majesty King of the Belgians' but in the later edition, volume II p.173 it has been altered to read *Claremont Park, Esher* belonging to Her Majesty the Queen and the text informs us that between 1846-1866 it was the residence (in exile) of the ex-King and Queen of France, Louis Philippe and Marie Amélie.

The 1841 edition has a view of *The Castle Hotel, Richmond* (T. Allom, H. Adlard). What is interesting here is that The Castle Hotel, Richmond was later used on 7 July 1845 at 6pm as the venue for a testimonial dinner in honour of John Britton at which 82 persons were present. Among the subscribers was Thomas Allom. The Dinner Ticket was engraved by John Le Keux. A watercolour by Thomas Allom of *The Castle Hotel at Richmond* can be compared to the engraving.⁶⁸⁶

Volume III of the 1841 Edition states at the beginning that 'The illustrative department is under the superintendence of Thomas Allom'. That Allom had a close connection with this work is further reinforced when considering the engraving *Ashurst, Seat of William Stahan Esq* (T. Allom, H. Adlard). The Victoria and Albert Museum have an album of 14 Allom watercolours of Ashurst, Surrey subjects, which can be dated to 1842, including: *Thomas Worley, Bailiff at Ashurst, at the age of 83* - a portrait of head and shoulders, facing half right (on the back slight sketches of wooded landscape) and *Haymaking at Ashurst, Surrey*. The above two works were given by William Roscoe Strahan to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1953.⁶⁸⁷ Another sepia wash watercolour of the *Interior of the Hall in the Mansion of Deepdene, Surrey*, seat of Henry Thomas Hope Esq and dated 1848 can, be compared to the

⁶⁸⁵ Not in Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op. cit. p. 91, Appendix 2: Architectural Designs by Thomas Allom.

⁶⁸⁶ Courtesy of Abbott & Holder (2007).

⁶⁸⁷ Thomas Worley Portrait: 8 5/8 x 7 1/8 inches, 21.9 x 36.9 cm - P.58-1953 and Haymaking, Ashurst, Surrey: 10 1/8 x 14.5 inches, 25.8 x 36.9 cm - P-59-1953.

engraving *Interior of the Hall in the Mansion of Deepdene* (T. Allom, M.J. Starling) in volume V of *A topographical History of Surrey* (published in 1848).⁶⁸⁸

5.20 *The Daughters of England, their position in society, character and responsibilities.* (Fisher, Son & Co, 1842).

For this work by Sarah Stickney Ellis see supra under number 18: *Family Secrets*. In the edition consulted, there is only one (frontispiece) engraving after Allom entitled *Evening at Home* engraved by G. Presbury, but Diana Brooks lists two.⁶⁸⁹ Fisher produced three different bindings: cloth 10s, silk 12s and morocco 16s. The Preface dates this work to January 1842. The edition consulted has a useful 12 page Catalogue of Fisher's *Popular Works* inserted inside the back cover.

5.21 *The Shores and Islands of the Mediterranean* (Fisher, Son & Co, 1840).

In the strict topographical views sequence of Fisher publications this Fisher work should come after number 13 *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated*. In this sense it is also in the suite of Fisher's Foreign Views. The author was the ever-faithful Rev. G.N. Wright and it can be dated from the map and various plates dated 1840. The Title page states that the engravings for *The Shores and Islands of the Mediterranean* were after designs drawn from nature (in the French version it is more specific: 'Illustrés d'après les dessins pris sur les lieux') by Sir Grenville Temple, Bart, W.L. Leitch Esq, Major Irton and Lieutenant Allen, R.E. The Title page uses a quote from Samuel Johnson:

The grand object of all travelling is to see the shores of the Mediterranean: on these shores were the four great Empires of the world: the Assyrian, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman. All our Religion, almost all our Laws, almost all that sets us up above the savages, has come to us from the shores of the Mediterranean.

It came out in two volumes in quarto size, 10 ½ x 8 ¼ inches (265 x 205 mm). The two volume French edition c. 1840 by Clément Pellé had a slightly more explicit and expanded title: *Les Iles et les Bords de la Méditerranée comprenant La Sicile et La Cote de Barbarie*. Both Volumes have 32 plates making 64 in total but in the French version there seem to be only 29 plates in volume two. In the catalogue in the back of *The Daughters of England* it mentions 65 engravings and the price for the two quarto volumes was £2.2s.

⁶⁸⁸ see Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op. cit. p. 37 for Illustration 130 x 185 cm, private collection.

⁶⁸⁹ Brooks, op. cit, p.88.

The introduction explains how the illustrations were divided up. Algiers, Tunis and the African portion of the Mediterranean were visited by Sir Grenville Temple 'under more favourable auspices than any other European, in modern times has enjoyed; and, from his beautiful drawings, the African portion of *The Mediterranean* is completed'. The views of Sicily 'were originally sketched by Mr. Leitch during two years' residence in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies'. Malta, Italy and Greece were sketched by the 'graceful pencil of Major Irton' and the northern coast of the Mediterranean and the Islands were illustrated 'from the spirited sketches of Lieutenant Allen, on whom a long residence in the Ionian Isles conferred an opportunity of visiting every object of beauty and value around the shores of Greece'.

The introduction concludes that 'as the south of Europe may now be visited in the short period of a few weeks, with little danger and less fatigue' then an illustrated publication seemed propitious. A few years earlier a book had come out with a similar title, Frank Hall Standish's *The Shores of the Mediterranean* published by Black and Armstrong, London (1837-38), two volumes in octavo but without illustrations. Fisher & Co. had no doubt spotted another marketing opportunity by producing an illustrated work.

The vignette title engraving to volume one is *Kaligata, Cephalonia* by C. Bentley, engraved by Goodall. The accompanying text to this plate is extremely florid in its description as, no doubt, G.N. Wright is merely giving a description of the sketch, rather than having personally visited the village, it states:

In the accompanying view it [the village] appears embosomed in woods, above which rises a light and fairy-formed belfry; beyond the calm mirror of the bright blue sea reflects the glowing hues of the west; while the foreground consists of luxuriant vegetation, closely interwoven, - flower, fruit, shrub, and trees, of the gayest colours and most variegated shades. The vine entwines the aloe: myrtle and ivy dispute the highest place on the steep and verdure-clad bank, and oftentimes, arching over the highway, excludes the beams of the meridian sun.

The full plate facing the title page is *The Cathedral (Madre Chiesa) at Palermo* by W.L. Leitch, engraved by J.H. Le Keux. This is only briefly referred to in the text (p. 31) 'which is so happily represented in the accompanying Illustration'. The engraving *Gibraltar from the Sea* was originally sketched by Lieutenant H.E. Allen, Royal Engineers, completed by C. Bentley and engraved by J.C. Armytage. The text to the engraving of *The Amphitheatre of El Jemm* drawn by Sir Grenville Temple, engraved J. Sands, informs us that 'this very perfect and highly interesting classic monument was visited by Sir Grenville Temple, an accomplished traveller, in 1833', and that his journal was published two years afterwards as

Excursions in the Mediterranean. Samuel Prout designed the *Strada St Giovanni, Valetta* after the sketch by Lieutenant Allen (engraved by E. Challis). The text tells us that 'the scene represented in the illustration is that of a procession of the order of Jesuits' and that the street is one of the steepest in Valetta - and a quote from Byron's *Farewell to Malta* is added:

Adieu, ye cursed streets of stairs!
How sorely he who mounts you swears!

There are six engravings after the designs of Thomas Allom: ⁶⁹⁰

Interior of a Moorish Palace, Algiers (T.Allom, E. Challis) plate dated 1839, p.
Corfu (T. Allom, W. Floyd) plate dated 1839
Burj-Er-Roos, or The Tower of the Skulls (T.Allom, E. Benjamin, from a sketch by Sir Grenville Temple) ⁶⁹¹ [fig. 176]
Neftah, The Ancient Negeta, Beylik of Tunis (T.Allom, T. Higham) plate dated 1839
Bazaar of the Fig Tree, Algiers (T.Allom, T.A. Prior)
El Kaf, the ancient Sicca Veneria (T.Allom, E. Challis)

In the Corfu engraving Allom has included a steamship in the background whilst in the foreground there are sail boats. The illustration of *Neftah, the Ancient Negeta, Beylik of Tunis* was taken from an incident recounted by Sir Grenville Temple:

The Bedouin women, many of whom are really beautiful - which I was enabled to correctly ascertain, as they had no veils - were in the meanwhile, employed in washing their clothes and as they were by no means careful in concealing their charms, I had, during the two hours I spent on the banks, ample opportunity of observing that they also possessed very symmetrical forms.

The original sepia watercolour (8 x 13 inches) was sold at the Allom sale at Christie's South Kensington (Lot 87) in 1985 and is now in a private collection. ⁶⁹² [fig. 177].

There are four engravings after designs by W.H. Bartlett:

Naples from the Villa Falconnet (W.H. Bartlett, S. Lacey)
The New Harbour at Rhodes (J. Salmon, D. Buckle after a sketch by W.H. Bartlett)
Town and Harbour of Salerno (W.H. Bartlett, W.H. Capone after a sketch by Major Irton)
Napoli di Romania, The Ancient Nauplia (W.H. Bartlett, W. Floyd)

The make-up or confection of the illustrations alternates between those on the north African coast, and the Sicily ones by W.L. Leitch and those after Lieutenant Allen and Major Irton. Leitch contributed 26 designs, mostly of Sicily but also of Italy. Samuel Prout contributes four subjects taken from drawings by Lieutenant Allen of street scenes in Malta and Corfu.

⁶⁹⁰ Not listed in Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op. cit.

⁶⁹¹ *Some Account of the Island of Jerbi and the Tower of Human Heads*, known as Burj-er-Roos by Thomas Kerrich, who visited the site in 1833 appears in *The Amulet* of 1836, pp. 9-37, edited by Samuel Carter Hall.

⁶⁹² My thanks to Charles Nugent, Curator, Drawings and Watercolours, Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester for the photograph of the original sepia drawing by Allom. *Nefta (sic) the ancient Negeta, Beylik of Tunis Africa*, Christie's South Kensington Sale 22 March 2006, Lot 1479, pencil and watercolour heightened with touches of bodycolour, 8 x 12 ¾ inches (204 x 325mm).

Wright's text is liberally sprinkled with excerpts and quotes from Byron, L.E.L. (Letitia Elizabeth Landon), Shakespeare, Milton and classical references from the Aeneid, Odyssey and from Latin poets such as Horace.

5.22 *The Rhine Illustrated: The Rhine, Italy and Greece* (Fisher, Son & Co, 1841-43).

This was published in two volumes in quarto size, 11 x 9 inches. The drawings were done after both professional and amateur artists: Colonel Cockburn, Major Irton, Messrs. Bartlett, Leitch and Wolfensberger.⁶⁹³ The 'historical and legendary' descriptions are by Rev. G. N. Wright, described on the title page as 'author of *The Mediterranean Illustrated*', which suggests a continuation from the previous Fisher publication. Indeed this is confirmed by the dating of the two volumes: volume one entitled *The Rhine Illustrated* is dated 1841 in the vignette title of *Round Tower, Oberwesel* (W.L. Leitch, H. Adlard), and volume two entitled *Italy Illustrated* is dated 1842 in the vignette title of *Fountain at Carnelo, Italy* [fig. 178a] (W. L. Leitch, S. Bradshaw).

The plates are all subtitled in French and German indicating an expectancy of sales abroad. Volume one contains 33 engraved plates including the vignette and Volume two contains 40 engraved plates including the vignette. Rather like the make-up of *The Mediterranean Illustrated* one finds that the illustrations alternate between those of the Rhine, Italy and Greece. Volume one contains 11 plates for the Rhine, 17 of Italy, 5 of Greece. Volume two contains 13 plates for the Rhine, 18 of Italy, 9 of Greece. Thus out of a total of 73 plates, 24 illustrate the Rhine, 35 Italy and 14 Greece.

When one looks at the illustrations after W.H. Bartlett, who contributed 22 designs, one finds he made 8 designs for the Rhine, 13 designs for Italy and 1 for Greece. W.L. Leitch also contributed 22 designs for the Rhine and Italy, Wolfensberger did 17 designs for Greece and southern Italy including the *Forum, Pompei* [fig. 178b], Colonel Cockburn contributed two designs for the Val d'Aosta and Major Irton four designs. Thomas Allom contributed only one design: *Court of the old Palace, Florence* (T. Allom, J. Tingle). The alternance from one view in one country to a view in another country was picked up by a review in *The Patriot*:

A delicious portfolio of picturesque views. The scene is made to shift at every page, from the Rhine to the Tiber, from Athens to Mayence. There is the pleasure of rapid transition, of variety, and contrast in this.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹³ Johann Jakob Wolfensberger (1797-1850), a Swiss artist, travelled to Sicily (1821), Athens (1832), Constantinople and Asia Minor (1834) see Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* (London, 1889) vol. 2, p. 726.

⁶⁹⁴ Taken from a brochure of Fisher's publications bound into the back of Mrs Ellis' *Wives of England* 1843.

Given that, according to the Preface, *The Rhine, Italy and Greece* covers 'the ancient, the most chivalrous history of Europe' that the banks of the Rhine 'are the very shores of old romance' and that 'the classic lands of Italy and Greece' are 'one the conqueror, the other the teacher of the world', it is not surprising that the book is full of literary snippets. Virtually no engraving escapes without a relevant quote, the lion's share being Byron but also the following (in no particular order): Lady Morgan's *Italy*, Rogers' *Italy*, Mary Howitt, Dante, Rev. John Eustace, *Landscape Annual* for 1831 and 1832, Christopher Wordsworth's *Greece*, Milton, Ovid, Horace, Pliny, Snow's *Legends of the Rhine*, Young's poem on volcanoes, Shakespeare, Emily Reeve's *Customs and Costumes*, Cooper's *Excursions to Italy*, Dodwell's *Greece*, Chateaubriand's *Travels in Greece*, Forsyth's *Remarks on Italy*, James Johnson's *Pilgrimage to the Spas*, Southey's poem *Bishop Hatto*, Spenser, L.E.L. (Letitia Elizabeth Landon) and Pope.

Three of Bartlett's designs in Italy are particularly fine: *Florence and Fiesole* engraved by S. Bradshaw (facing page 66); *The Forum, Rome* [Fig.178c] engraved by A. Willmore (facing page 51) and *The Pantheon, Rome* [fig. 178d] engraved by E. Challis (used as a frontispiece to volume II).

Italy and Greece were well trodden ground by the 1830s and 1840s; an artist such as Thomas Hartley Crome (1809-1873) ranged the Continent and particularly Italy and Greece where his watercolours were designed for the tourist market with close up studies of Roman ruins. W.B. Cooke engraved some of Crome's views of Rome. Earlier in 1834 the artist William James Muller went to Italy, Greece and Turkey.

5.23 Heath's Picturesque Annual - Paris in 1841 (Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1842).

Heath's *Paris Annual* was edited by Mrs Catherine Gore and published by Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans; Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia and Fisher & Co, Paris, 1842. The book measures 9 ½ x 6 ½ inches (240 x 170 mm). It contains 21 'highly-finished' engravings with 18 after Allom, made up of 5 plates and 13 vignettes. The three final plates are by

Eugène Lami. What makes Allom's designs different is that he uses colour instead of sepia washes in what Brooks describes 'as an unmistakable imitation of Turner's 1830s vignettes'.⁶⁹⁵

The Preface by Mrs Gore explains that previous works on Paris do not take into account the modern improvements and newly erected monuments. In the last ten years i.e. 1830-1840 there had been improvements in paving, lighting, sewerage and water pipes, started by Napoleon and continued by King Louis Philippe, and Gore lists the monuments: Versailles (basically restructuring), the Church of the Madeleine, Hotel du Commerce on the Quai d'Orsay, Hotel de Ville, Ecole des Beaux Arts, Arc de L'Etoile and public works on the Quai de l'Arsenal, the July Monument at the Bastille and the Jardin des Plantes.⁶⁹⁶

There had been a Revolution in 1830 deposing the last Bourbon, Charles X, brother of both Louis XVI and Louis XVIII, and bringing to power Louis Philippe, the 'citizen King'. Twelve years had now elapsed since the publication of the last illustrated steel-engraved work completely on Paris - Jennings's *Paris and its Environs, displayed in a series of Picturesque Views*, which Robert Fisher found 'niggling and diminutive'.⁶⁹⁷ This had come out between 1828-31 and was now dated (see Chapter 4).

Heath's *Picturesque Annual* for 1834 had illustrated the sea coasts of France in 1834 after designs by Clarkson Stanfield and the *Picturesque Annual* for 1839 had featured Versailles with illustrations after William Callow, Frederick Mackenzie, C. Aubry and F. J. Collignon. Turner had illustrated three *Annual Tours* along the Seine and the Loire between 1833-35, which had ventured into Paris viz Thomas Higham's steel engraving after Turner of the *Boulevards*, (written by and published by Longmans, collectively known as *Rivers of France* and published in a single volume in 1837), and Jennings *Landscape Annual* for 1834 had featured the *Tourist in France*, edited by Thomas Roscoe with illustrations by James Duffield Harding.

Thomas Shotter Boys's *Picturesque Architecture in Paris, Ghent, Antwerp, Rouen* etc with 26 lithographs was published in 1839 and contains 15 Paris subjects. There is no overlap between the Allom and Boys subjects although Boys mentions, in his view of the *Sainte*

⁶⁹⁵ Brooks, op. cit, p. 37.

⁶⁹⁶ see Philip Mansel, *Paris between Empires 1814-1852* (London, 2001) for a detailed account of these changes.

⁶⁹⁷ see Appendix 4, Letter Fisher to Petrie 6, NLI Ms. 791 no 195 dated 11 October 1828.

Chapelle, that the stones lying in the courtyard were going to be used for the completion of the *Arc de l'Etoile*, which is one of the views by Allom.

Mrs Gore's *Paris* concentrates on the Paris of 1841 and does not illustrate the old gothic churches of Paris such as Boys treats. There is no Notre Dame, St Etienne du Mont, St Séverin, Sainte Chapelle, or Pantheon. The medieval church of St Germain d'Auxerrois is merely used as the backdrop to illustrate a riot that occurred there in 1831. The Madeleine Church and the Arc de L'Etoile are illustrated because they were recently completed. Indeed Allom's small watercolour vignette of the *Arc de L'Etoile* [fig. 179] shows the two pavilions of the Barrière de L'Etoile, the former Farmer's General tax wall that surrounded Paris. In so minute a watercolour Allom has even been able to represent Rude's monumental sculpture of La Marseillaise. The Arc itself has been exaggerated making it look tall and thin. Throughout the work Allom has supplied a cast of small, even minute, extras rushing about their daily business.⁶⁹⁸

In *Exterior of La Madeleine* [fig. 180] the Madeleine Church is also represented as being high up as the artist has taken it from a lower viewpoint. The depth is achieved by a clever use of the various groups of people, a cavalry procession from left to right, two groups of vendors in front of this on the left and right, an officer on a white horse and a gentleman with a hat and cane to the right and behind them, a carriage, and then at the foot of the steps, a group of people beside the railings to the church. The *Interior of the Madeleine* [fig. 182] can be compared to the same scene in *France Illustrated* [fig. 208] where the latter engraving is on a larger scale and includes more staffage and activity around the altar but otherwise is exactly the same.

The *Place Vendome* view can be contrasted with the same view in Jennings' *Paris and its Environs*. [figs. 181 and 65] Here Allom's viewpoint is closer up, on the corner of the rue St Honoré, whereas the Jennings's view is further away. In the interior view of the *Gallery of the Louvre* even Gericault's *Raft of the Medusa* can be identified on the left despite the small size of the vignette [fig. 183]. This plate was engraved by J.B. Allen and an enlarged but similar view of the same Gallery [fig. 184] by J.B. Allen after Allom is in volume three of Fisher's

⁶⁹⁸ The original design is reproduced in Brooks, op. cit, p.39 unfortunately not in colour.

France Illustrated (1844). It is worth noting that in this case the plate was not re-used despite a short two year gap between the two publications.

List of Engravings for Heath's *Picturesque Annual Paris in 1841*:

1. <i>Exterior of La Madeleine</i>	J.B. Allen	Plate	
2. <i>Arc de L'Etoile</i>	Prior	Vignette	
3. <i>Place Vendome</i>	J.T. Willmore	Vignette	p.11
4. <i>Rue de Rivoli</i>	C. Mottram	Vignette	p.19
5. <i>Arc du Carroussel</i>	G. Goodman	Vignette	p.41
6. <i>Gallery of the Louvre</i>	J.B. Allen	Vignette	p.50
7. <i>Jardin du Palais Royal</i>	R. Wallis	Plate	p.69
8. <i>Chambre des Pairs</i>	W. Radclyffe	Plate	p.76
9. <i>Altar of St Roch</i>	W. Radclyffe	Vignette	p.80
10. <i>Porte St Denis</i>	R. Wallis	Vignette	p.89
11. <i>Interior of La Madeleine</i>	R. Wallis	Plate	p.108
12. <i>Jardin des Plantes</i>	C. Heath	Vignette	p.133
13. <i>St Germain L'Auxerrois</i>	J.B. Allen	Vignette	p.142
14. <i>View from Port Royal</i>	J.T. Willmore	Vignette	p.147
15. <i>Chambre des Députés</i>	W. Radclyffe	Plate	p.155
16. <i>Fountain in Place Louis XV</i>	J.C. Varrall	Vignette	p.159
17. <i>Fountain in the Rue Richelieu</i>	J.C. Varrall	Vignette	p.210
18. <i>Café Estaminet</i>	J.B. Allen	Vignette	p.217
19. <i>A Soirée</i>	Eugène Lami	R. Staines	Vignette p.246
20. <i>Contract of Marriage</i>	Eugène Lami	R. Staines	Vignette p.251
21. <i>The Carnival</i>	Eugène Lami	R. Staines	Vignette p.256

5.24 Lancashire: its History, Legends and Manufactures (Fisher, Son & Co, 1843).

This was another version of the previous books on Lancashire, It measures 10 ½ x 6 ¾ inches (260 x 173 mm) and has 40 plates including 12 plates after Allom previously used in numbers 2, 7 and 8. Once again Fisher's prolific author G.N. Wright is credited with the letter-press. The publishing line reads Fisher, Son & Co, London; Post Office Place, Liverpool and 93 Piccadilly, Manchester with the date 1843.

However a few years later an expanded two-volume *Lancashire, its History, Legends and Manufactures* is published by Peter Jackson, Late Fisher, Son & Co, The Caxton Press, Angel Street, St Martin's-le-Grand, London; 11 Post Office Place, Liverpool; 93 Piccadilly, Manchester. This work is listed as number 29 in Reprints and Variants in Appendix 3. There is no date but it must be post 1848 as this date is mentioned in the text on page 126 in connection with the death of Edward Baines M.P., 'owner of the *Leeds Mercury* and Author

of the *History of the County Palatine of Lancaster*' (sic), and in volume two the population of Liverpool is given as 300,000 with the date 1848 (p. 224). Also it was in 1849 that Peter Jackson took over Fisher, Son & Co from Robert Fisher. The authors are now given as Rev. G. N. Wright and Thomas Allen.

5.25 *The Wives of England; their relative duties, domestic influence and social obligations* (Fisher, Son & Co, 1843).

Another Sarah Stickney Ellis manual published by Fisher, Son & Co in 1843 with one plate after Allom. See supra under number 18: *Family Secrets*.

5.26 *China, in a series of views, displaying the scenery, architecture and social habits of that ancient Empire* (Fisher, Son & Co, 1843).

This major work by Fisher, Son & Co was published in 1843 with 124 engravings after Allom. In quarto size approximately 11 x 9 inches (280 x 230 mm) it was available in part-works, divisions and bound volumes which vary, depending on the binder, from four volumes in one, to two volumes or four volumes and hence the size difference between books. The work was reprinted by Peter Jackson, late Fisher, Son & Co (c.1847-49) [fig. 185] and then again as *The Chinese Empire Illustrated* by the London Printing and Publishing Co (c.1858-59). The latter publication had added plates, as by then interest in China had grown owing to the conflict between England and China, the Arrow incident of 1856, in the second China War of 1856-58 with the burning of British factories at Canton and stores at Whampoa and the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858. By 1860 Lord Elgin captured Peking and the Summer Palace was destroyed.

But initial British interest in China goes back to the eighteenth-century. China was unknown to the West and Europeans had been excluded from China except for trading at Canton and Macau. A large number of European artists had visited Canton and Macau before 1815. Thomas and William Daniell, well known for their six-volume *Oriental Scenery* with 144 plates in colour, had travelled to India and stopped at Whampoa in 1785 and again visited China in 1793. Their *Picturesque Voyage to India by way of China* was published in 1810.

In 1793 Lord Macartney's Embassy to the Emperor of China was followed with great interest and resulted in a number of publications including Aeneas Anderson's *A narrative of the British Embassy to China in the years 1792, 1793, and 1794* (London, 1795) and his *A*

Complete View of the Chinese Empire (London, 1798). But the best known is William Alexander (1767-1816) who was one of the draughtsmen, together with Lieutenant Henry William Parish (c.1765-1800). Alexander illustrated Sir George Staunton's *An authentic account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britian to the Emperor of China* (1797) and Sir William Barrow's *Travels in China* (1804). John Barrow's *Travels in China*: containing descriptions, observations and comparisons, made and collected in the course of a short residence at the Imperial Palace of Yuen-Min-Yuen, and on a subsequent journey through the country from Pekin to Canton was published by T. Cadell & W. Davies in London in 1804. It was illustrated with eight engraved plates of which five were hand-coloured aquatints after William Alexander. Barrow had been secretary to Lord Macartney and had gone with him to China.

Alexander also published his own works, the last being on the dress and manners of the Chinese in 1814.

George Henry Mason, a former Major, wrote two books: *The Costumes of China* and *The Punishments of China* based probably on original Chinese prints of the Pu-Qua school and published in London c.1801. There are 60 hand-coloured stipple engravings and the plates are watermarked 1796-1802, which indicates the approximate dates of production. Illustrations of the *Costumes* show people not landscapes, and concentrate on trades and occupations. *Punishments* show cruel practices, for example plate 11 shows the burning of a man's eyes with lime. Perhaps the books were an attempt to try and understand a far older civilisation yet seeing it from a superior Western European viewpoint.

Allom has either used this book or one by a similar Chinese artist to depict various punishments. On page 43 of vol. II of *China Illustrated* Wright comments on the punishment of the Tcha or Cangue, a heavy wooden collar worn around the neck (T. Allom from a sketch by Warner Varnham, engraved by G. Paterson) but the text seems out of kilter and refers back to the Punishment of the Pan-tze or Bastinado, flogging with a bamboo cane (engraved by W. Wetherhead after T. Allom) on page 35 of vol. I:

In one of our most effective illustrations, Mr Allom has represented the punishment of the pantze, or bastinado, which of course admits of being regulated by the degree of criminality in the culprit.

Possibly the most celebrated artist connected with China at this time is George Chinnery (1774-1852) who arrived in Macau in 1825 after fleeing his debtors in India and remained

there for the rest of his life. The Victoria and Albert Museum has two albums entitled *Sketches in Canton* (1826) and *Sketches made in China* (1836). Chinnery essentially earned his money as a portraitist, and was thought of (or thought of himself) as the 'Thomas Lawrence' of the East. However he produced thousands of sketches of life in China. One of his major portraits, *Dr Morrison and his Chinese Assistants* was engraved for 300 guineas by C. Turner, A.R.A and published in March 1830. Fisher, Son & Co listed it as one of their engravings in a brochure of 1844 under *Portraits recently published, royal quarto, India proofs 2 shillings each or plain proof, one shilling*. Dr Morrison as well as W. H. Medhurst were among a number of London Missionary Society missionaries who translated the Bible into Chinese.

W. H. Medhurst's *China: Its State and Prospects* was published by John Snow (London, 1838 and republished in 1842 immediately before Fisher's *China Illustrated*) [fig. 186] and was intended not only for general interest but as useful information for missionaries and merchants with chapters on language, government and also on the various methods of Chinese punishment. It was illustrated with engravings on wood by George Baxter. Among the eleven engravings some are directly taken from William Alexander's illustrations, for example the frontispiece *Pagoda or Temple* is a copy of Alexander's *Pagoda* [fig. 187]. Baxter's *Chinese Fort* [fig. 188] is based on Alexander's drawing [fig. 189]. Some editions had inserted (and not necessarily bound in) a coloured frontispiece (chromolithograph) of *Mr Medhurst in conversation with Choo-Tih-Lang attended by a Malay Boy* printed in oil colours by G. Baxter (*Patentee*), 3 Charterhouse Square and published by John Snow, 26 Paternoster Row, London [fig. 190] (image size 5 x 4 inches, 125 x 105 mm). What Medhurst's book demonstrates is that the quality and quantity of illustrations was low but interest in China was high. No doubt Fisher saw a gap in the market and published a lavishly embellished *China Illustrated*.

What possibly led Fisher to publish *China Illustrated* in 1843 was the 1839-1840 First Opium War (1840-42) and the subsequent 1841 Treaty of Chenpee and the 1842 Treaty of Nanking. By these Hong Kong was ceded to the British and the Chinese opened up Canton, Amoy, Cooshow, Ningpo and Shanghai to foreign trade. The public was intrigued by the opening up of this remote and unknown Empire. However, here Fisher had a slight problem. He seems to have had no intention of sending an artist to China. Allom's illustrations were not based on

his own experiences. Indeed many authors have made the mistake of thinking that he visited China.⁶⁹⁹ The Preface to *China Illustrated* is carefully worded:

Having dwelt in 'the land of the cypress and the myrtle', Mr ALLOM'S talents were fully matured for the faithful delineation of Oriental Scenery; and in many instances, he has so successfully pictured forth the subject to be illustrated, as to secure a signal triumph for the pencil over the pen.

The quote 'in the land of the cypress and the myrtle' comes from Byron's poem *The Bride of Abydos*, canto I.i, published in 1813 and sub-titled *The Bride of Abydos, A Turkish Tale*:

Know ye the land where the cypress and myrtle
Are emblems of deeds that are done in their clime?
Where the rage of the vulture, the love of the turtle,
Now melt into sorrow, now madden to crime.⁷⁰⁰

The wording in the Preface is a classic piece of spin, slightly misleading, but careful reading suggests that Allom's experience was Turkish not Chinese. The full title to *China Illustrated: China in a series of views, displaying the Scenery, Architecture, and Social Habits of that Empire. Drawn from Original and Authentic Sketches, by Thomas Allom Esq.* would lead one to think they were sketched on the spot by Allom but the comma is all important, as Allom had actually copied, or been inspired by, other people's sketches.

As Diana Brooks has written 'Allom produced his drawings of China by merely crossing the road from his house in Hart Street to the British Museum'.⁷⁰¹ His designs were based entirely on the works of earlier artists who had travelled to China as well as amateur artists such as Lieutenant Frederick White (8 plates), Captain Stoddart (14 plates) and Warner Varnham (4 plates).⁷⁰² Allom took at least 8 or 9 designs from the then recently published Auguste Borget's *La Chine et Les Chinois* [fig. 191] published in Paris by Goupil & Vibert in 1842 with 32 lithographs after Borget's designs by Eugène Cicéri.⁷⁰³ Auguste Borget arrived in China in 1838 and stayed for 10 months. There is proof that he met George Chinnery and exchanged pictures.⁷⁰⁴

⁶⁹⁹ For example Robin Hutcheon, *Chinnery - the man and the legend* (Hong Kong, 1976) thought that Rev G.N. Wright had visited Canton, see p. 66.

⁷⁰⁰ Abydos - a city of Asia, on the shores of the Hellespont, famous for the loves of Hero and Leander. Leander was from Abydos on the Asia shore and Hero from Sestos on the European shore. Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour* (London, 1998; rev. ed. 2000), mentions Goethe's very similar lines 'Kenst du das Land wo die citronen blumen' which come from earlier classical sources.

⁷⁰¹ Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom*, op.cit. p.40.

⁷⁰² Warner Varnham may have been a pupil with George Chinnery. See Robin Hutcheon, *Chinnery- the man and the legend* (Hong Kong, 1976) p.122 and on p.117 is a sketch map of Macau by Varnham, dated 1840.

⁷⁰³ In 1839 Cicéri was one of the artists employed on Baron Taylor and Louis Reybaud's *La Syrie, l'Egypte, La Palestine et La Judée*, along with Dauzats and Mayer. The work was engraved by H. Finden (Paris, 1839).

⁷⁰⁴ see Robin Hutcheon, *Chinnery- The man and the legend* (Hong Kong, 1975) p.121 mentions 'scene near Macao by M. Borget, as an interchanged gift to Mr Chinnery'.

Allom does not seem to have used Borget's figures at all; he was more interested in Borget's architecture and the landscape. He takes either the whole image or elements from the following plates: 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 22, 24 and 25.

Plate 3: *Aqueduc de Bambou, Ile de Hong Kong* (p.33 *China Illustrated: Bamboo aqueduct at Hong Kong*, engraved H. Adlard)

Plate 4: *Baie et Ile de Hong Kong* (p.17 *China Illustrated: Harbour of Hong Kong*, engraved S. Bradshaw)

Plate 9: *Façade du Grand Temple de Macao* (*China Illustrated: Façade of the Great Temple at Macao*, engraved S. Bradshaw)

Plate 10: *Chapelle du Grand Temple de Macao* (*China Illustrated: Chapel in the Great Temple, Macao*, engraved M.J. Starling)

Plate 11: *Vue Générale de Macao* (*China Illustrated: Macao from the Forts of Heang-Shan*, engraved S. Fisher)

Plate 22: *Temple, Pagode et Village sur les canaux de l'intérieur de Macao à Canton* (*China Illustrated: Pagoda and Village on the canal near Canton*, engraved by W.H. Capone)

Plate 24: *Factoreries Européennes à Canton* (*China Illustrated: The European Factories*, engraved J. Tingle)

Plate 25: *Intérieur du Temple de Bhuddha* (p.37 *China Illustrated: Temple of Buddha, Canton*, engraved by W.H. Capone)

Fourteen designs are taken from a manuscript in the British Museum (Add Mss 60 & 61 1807) also from the British Museum department of Prints and Drawings CP 413. He then took tracings of the drawings of William Alexander (Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum from 1808-1816) and alters them by 'walking round the buildings' and finding another perspective or by placing the architecture or figures in a different setting.⁷⁰⁵ Two of the illustrations by Alexander in John Barrow's *Travels in China* might have served Allom: *A Village and Cottages* and *Dwelling of a Mandarin or Officer of State*. Both engraved by T. Medland. Also the seven aquatinted plates to Henry Ellis's *Journal of the proceedings of the late Embassy to China* which concerned the failure of Lord Amherst's Embassy to the Emperor of China. For example Summer Palace of the Emperor opposite the City of Tien-Sing. Allom's Pagoda for the title page vignette and its setting is very close to a design by Alexander [figs. 192 & 193].

The Preface states that the publishers had various manuscripts at their disposal and thank Sir George Staunton for permission to copy several interesting subjects from 'his beautiful collection of Chinese Drawings by native artists'. Mention is made in the text of Commodore J. Elliott Bingham's *Narrative of the Expedition to China*.

⁷⁰⁵ see Brooks, op. cit pp. 41-42 and Martyn Gregory Catalogue number 18 *An Exhibition of British Artists (together with some Chinese) working in China in the 18th and 19th Centuries*. (London, 1977). Martyn Gregory Gallery has the original tracings by Allom.

Not everyone was taken in by *China Illustrated*, the *Chinese Repository* of 1849 under a list of works on China said:

Neither the engraver or the writer was ever in China, and they have produced a strange medley. The pictures are chiefly remarkable for the number of pagodas introduced into them; many of them are taken from the preceding work (*La Chine et les Chinois* by Auguste Borget).⁷⁰⁶

Indeed Allom adapted the drawings he had seen by other artists and melded them together in a clever and ingenious way. Adapting his lively and bustling figures to become Chinese ones, he put them on a stage with different architectural backdrops, like minute panoramas.

There were a number of Allom sketches and related items in the Martyn Gregory *China Catalogue* (1977). Number 11 below can be compared to Lot 76 of the 1985 Allom Sale at Christie's South Kensington which appears to be the same subject but a slightly different size at 5 x 7 ½ inches. If this is the case then it suggests that there were a number of versions prior to the engraving [figs. 194 and 195]:

11. *Rice Sellers at Tong-Chang-Foo*

watercolour, 6 ¼ x 8 ¾ in (160 x 220 mm)

Preparatory watercolour for engraving in G.N. Wright's *China Illustrated*, vol. I p.87.⁷⁰⁷

Both Allom Sales (1983 and 1985) included preparatory sketches for *China Illustrated* made with pencil, sepia brown washes heightened with white. The size is uniform at 5 x 7 ½ inches (125 x 190mm). The 1873 'Studio' Sale did not offer any original works for China.

Even given the number of sources for Allom's designs it still leaves a considerable quantity of subjects that appear to be his own. Numbers 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17 of the Martyn Gregory catalogue, which are in sepia, were probably the designs intended for the engraver and any subsequent coloured watercolours and oils were probably for private sale.

Fisher's *Colonial Magazine* of 1844, in its Review of the Exhibitions comments that China:

having by British conquest been laid bare, the costumes, habits, manners, science, arts, trades, agriculture and genius of this wonderful people have naturally engaged the peculiar attention of Englishmen, and particularly of speculative persons, who, with an eye to lucre, have formed museums and picture galleries, in prostituting public patronage.

"China here! China there! China everywhere!" Our Countrymen are prying in at the gates of Peking; some of them have written books about what they saw when in China; artists fresh from the Canton River, are calling attention to sketches which were taken on the spot; antiquarians are displaying the antiquities they have collected; *painters are painting what they never saw except on paper; engravers*

⁷⁰⁶ *Chinese Repository*, No. 136, January-December 1849, vol XIV p.118, vol XVI p. 223 and p. 420 for list of works on China.

⁷⁰⁷ Appendix 6.2 has a full list of the *China Illustrated* sketches.

are engraving from thrice second-hand copies; [my italics] at the exhibitions, theatres, picture-galleries - in the legislature, in the church, in the coffee-room, China has been of late the engrossing theme. The question is not now, "Where is China?", but "Where is not China?". We must be in the fashion, and give to China the preference in this page.⁷⁰⁸

One wonders whether the commentator of Fisher's *Colonial Magazine* wrote of 'the painters painting what they never saw except on paper' and the 'engravers engraving thrice second-hand copies' from first-hand knowledge of Fisher's own publication of *China Illustrated*?

In the mid 1840s, just as steel engraved topographical books reached their zenith, Allom's career as an architect became a priority which is acknowledged in G.N. Wright's *Preface* to *China Illustrated*:

...The exercise of his cultivated mind, however, being now dedicated to Architecture, professional ambition must necessarily limit his subsequent labours in this branch of the arts. It is probable therefore that his purely pictorial productions will henceforth only be found in the publications of the Messrs. Fisher, under whose auspices that avenue was first opened...

5.27 The Life and Times of Louis Philippe (Fisher, Son & Co, 1844).

This biography of the French King was written by Rev. G. N. Wright and originally published by Fisher, Son & Co in 1838, in a cloth bound edition (8 ½ x 5 1/5 inches, 215 x 140 mm) at the price of sixteen shillings and contained 12 engraved plates. Later in 1843 Queen Victoria visited France and was invited to stay at the Chateau d'Eu in Normandy by King Louis Philippe. So Fisher brought out another enlarged edition with a new Appendix which covered the Queen's visit and contained an extra vignette *View of the Chateau d'Eu*. However the artist and engraver are not credited and, of the other engravings, seven are anonymous, there are two after Horace Vernet, one after Rouillard, Hering and M. Brown, five engravers are given: Topham, G. Presbury, H. Beckwith, J. Franklin and W.H. Mote. On Louis Philippe's visit to England in 1844 it is mentioned that he went to Windsor, where among the Lord Mayor of London's delegation he spoke to the printseller F.G. Moon and said:

I have heard of you; I know you well from your connections with the fine arts, and I have derived great pleasure from the examination of your admirable engravings.⁷⁰⁹

Eleven years later F.G. Moon, now Lord Mayor of London, himself received the Emperor Napoleon III on 28 April 1855 at the Guildhall. A few days later Moon was created Baronet on 4 May 1855. Moon was not the first printseller to receive compliments from Louis Philippe as Charles Heath had received a diamond snuff box from the King in c.1838-39. Indeed Heath's *Picturesque Annual for 1839 - Versailles* was dedicated to Louis Philippe,

⁷⁰⁸ Fisher's *Colonial Magazine*, 1844 p. 308.

⁷⁰⁹ G.N. Wright, *Life and Times of Louis Philippe* (Fisher, 1844), p.654.

King of the French, who had converted Versailles from a Royal Palace into the Museum of the History of France.

Fisher also brought out, in a quarto edition, during the course of 1844 *The People's Gallery of Engravings* as a part publication costing one shilling per part. The letter-press was by Rev. G.N. Wright and it contained engravings after original works by: Turner, Lawrence, Stanfield, Prout, Roberts, Allom, Chalons, Hayter, Parris, Maclise, Stephanoff, Pickersgill, Cattermole, Bartlett, Leitch etc. There were 22 designs after Allom which had all previously been published in other Fisher publications. Hence *The People's Gallery of Engravings* was yet another example of the recycling of images within the Fisher stock of plates with a text by the ever prolific G.N. Wright.

5.28 France Illustrated (Fisher, Son & Co, 1844).

France Illustrated, exhibiting its Landscape, scenery, antiquities, military and ecclesiastical architecture, etc was published in quarto size (11 x 8 ½ inches, 280 x 220 mm)) by Fisher, Son & Co, The Caxton Press, Angel Street, St. Martin's-Le-Grand, London in 1844 and is the last in the series of illustrated picture books with 96 designs after Thomas Allom [fig. 196]. The text is by the Rev. G. N. Wright. It came out in part-works (24 monthly parts), divisions and in three volumes (32 plates per volume) There was also an optional added supplemental fourth volume comprising *A Summer and Winter in Paris*, with 50 steel engraved illustrations after Eugène Lami and descriptions by Jules Janin. This last had also been published in French as *L'Hiver et Eté à Paris* and came out as a part-work between October and November 1842 by the French publisher Henri Léon Curmer (see Chapter 4.3). It was then translated under the title *The American in Paris* c.1842-43 and had been *Heath's Picturesque Annual for 1843* followed in 1844 by *Winter in Paris - Heath's Picturesque Annual for 1844* published by Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman. The introduction (p.5) to the latter stated the illustrations were from 'the most eminent London engravers (and) a very eminent Parisian draughtsman'. This suggests close collaboration between Fisher and Longmans and it must be remembered that Allom and Eugène Lami had provided the illustrations for Mrs Gore's *Paris in 1841 - Heath's Picturesque Annual for 1842* and that Allom also provided the designs for *Heath's Picturesque Annual of 1841- Belgium*.

The three volume *France Illustrated* was translated into French as *La France au XIXème Siècle, illustrée dans ses monuments et ses plus beaux sites, dessinés d'après nature par*

Thomas Allom. It is also dated 1844 and was written by Charles-Jean Delille. The publishing line gives Fisher, Fils et Co, Rue St Honoré et à Londres but the third volume reads H. Mandeville, Rue Neuve-Vivienne à Paris.

The Preface to *France Illustrated* states:

The variety that exists in age, manner, and object, amongst the buildings of France, has given Mr Allom an opportunity of displaying the unlimited power of his pencil in architectural delineations; and it would be useless to select individual subjects, as peculiarly illustrative of his success - equality, the indication of a formed and firm style, prevailing throughout.

No methodical arrangement has been followed, in the selection of subjects, or order of publication, the artist's taste being the author's guide; and the former appears to have been influenced, as the eye when it first ranges over some perfect picture, by the principal lights and the prominent beauties.

Some years earlier Bartlett had written to Dr Beattie about a prospective work on France:

My Dear Sir,

I have made further enquiry of our friend Virtue as to the date of publication of 'France' and I do not think it will be before July or August, although I shall probably be making corrections in the spring.

Although I regret this very much I do not see at all the least chance of its being otherwise for the reason which I mentioned when I last saw you. Mr Virtue speaks of his engagement with you as perfectly understood and binding but does not intend to begin publishing until the time I have mentioned. I hope then that we shall go on together in perfect harmony and I shall be very glad as soon as I clearly understand the plan - i.e. whether to divide the work into Chapters on the Ancient Provinces- or make a 'Voyage Pittoresque' on the plan mentioned - if the latter - the sooner I lay down the exact route the better. Whenever I go to Paris I can contrive to take in a considerable district in my way. [The letter is not dated but is watermarked 1837].⁷¹⁰

In the letter Bartlett also mentions 'I am going into Scotland next week for a few days to add some more locations to the *Life of Burns* but I shall hope to see you within a fortnight'. Virtue published an illustrated *Life of Burns* 1838-1840 so the letter must date from around 1837-39.⁷¹¹ For some reason Virtue did not go ahead with a publication on France.

There was a lot of ground to cover in any attempt to illustrate France and it is fairly certain that unlike *China Illustrated*, Allom did indeed travel to France.⁷¹² On Monday 24 November 1845 Allom had a private audience with King Louis Philippe in Paris and presented the King with *China Illustrated* and the first volume of *France Illustrated*.⁷¹³ Allom returned from

⁷¹⁰ Letter from Bartlett to Beattie, *William Beattie Collection*, Holborn Local Studies Centre, ST2/1B/27, Box of Mss (A/47), transcribed in Appendix 1, section IV, letter 4.

⁷¹¹ *The Complete works of Burns Illustrated*, illustrated by W.H. Bartlett, T. Allom and other artists with a new life of Poet and notices critical and biographical by Allan Cunningham. Published George Virtue, 1838-1840.

⁷¹² Brooks, op. cit. p. 43 says that Allom and his wife were frequent visitors to E.G. Wakefields' father Edward who lived in Blois and p. 44, notes that an inset in the December 1845 part issue states: 'The Publishers regret that disappointment on the part of one of the Engravers, obliges them to issue the Part with only 3 Plates. Mr ALLOM having, however, returned last week from France, with abundance of sketches, this, and the plates already wanting, will be presented at an early period'. Brooks mentions the close relationship between the Wakefield and the Allom family in particular with New Zealand, see pp. 36-37, also Philip Temple, *A Sort of Conscience: The Wakefields* (Auckland, 2003).

⁷¹³ see Chapter Four, section 3.

France with further sketches to continue the part publication in December 1845.⁷¹⁴ So publication of *France Illustrated* must have continued into 1846.

Within *France Illustrated* are a number of views of the Pyrenees. A publication with 16 steel-engraved designs after Allom called *Album des Pyrenees* was published Chez Lafon (c.1840) in oblong quarto but without any text (see Appendix 4). The views are exactly the same as in *France Illustrated* and they may have been published for sale in France. One plate of *Pau* may have been re-used by Fisher in Mrs Ellis' *Summer and Winter in the Pyrenees* (London, 1841). This suggests that Allom may have begun his designs some years before final publication in 1844. Allom's first ever oil painting of the *Falls of Gavarnie* (Pyrenees) also dates from 1841.⁷¹⁵ This picture was offered as Lot 161 in the 1873 'Studio' Sale.

A previous illustrated work on the Pyrenees was Joseph Hardy's *A Picturesque and Descriptive Tour in the Mountains of the High Pyrenees* published twenty years earlier by Ackermann (London, 1825) priced at £1. 10s. and comprising 24 hand-coloured aquatint plates mounted as drawings on thick paper in octavo size.⁷¹⁶ The plates are small, 2 ¾ x 3 ½ inches. However the subject matter and locations seem to have been largely followed in Allom's designs. Contemporary with Fisher's *France Illustrated* is William Oliver's *Scenery of the Pyrenees* (1843) which is illustrated with 26 lithographs.

The size of the original designs for *France Illustrated* are a standard 5 x 7 ½ inches the same as for *China Illustrated*. Both the 1983 and 1985 Allom Sales contain pencil and sepia wash heightened with white designed for the engraver. The following designs are taken from the 1985 sale and can be compared to the engravings which are all approximately the same dimensions 5 x 7 inches: Lot 41 *Palace of the Tuilerie* (sic) (vol. II, p. 13) [figs. 197 and 198]; Lot 46 *The Salon d'Abdication, Fontainebleau* (vol. 2, p. 14) [figs. 199 and 200]; Lot 47 *Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris* (vol. 3, p. 48) [figs. 201 and 202]; Lot 64 *Rouen on the Seine* (vol. II, p. 8) which makes a very interesting comparison with Turner's *Rouen looking down the River* engraved by W. Miller, p.158 in *Wanderings by the Seine or Turner's Annual Tour*

⁷¹⁴ see Chapter Two, section 5 and Brooks, op.cit. p. 44.

⁷¹⁵ Possibly he travelled to the Pyrenees after completing designs for *Heath's Picturesque Annual Paris in 1841* as suggested by Brooks, op.cit. p. 48. A very early steel engraving of the *Cascades of Gavarnie* after Harding was engraved by Robert Wallis for Rudolph Ackermann's *Forget-Me-Not Annual* of 1825.

⁷¹⁶ Marlborough Rare Books, *Catalogue 194* (2003) p. 26. See also J.R. Abbey, *Travel in Aquatint and Lithography 1770-1860* (London, 1956, reprinted 1972 and 1991), pp. 183-184.

1834 part of the *Rivers of France* series [figs. 203, 204 and 205]; and Lot 69 *Entrance to the Port of Marseilles* (vol.1, p. 9) [figs. 206 and 207].

A few of the subjects are reprised from Heath's *Paris in 1841* for example the interior of the *Madeleine* [fig. 208] and *Gallery of the Louvre* [see figs. 183 and 184] but they are treated on a grander scale and done by different engravers.

Virtue's and Dr Beattie's *Danube Illustrated* and *The Castles and Abbeys of England* (1844).

If Virtue did not go ahead with an illustrated book on France his next venture was *The Danube Illustrated* (London, 1844). Fisher's *The Rhine Illustrated* finished publication in 1843 and it seemed logical to continue with a publication on the Danube. A few years earlier, Michael J Quin's *A Steam Voyage down the Danube with sketches of Hungary, Wallachia, Servia, Turkey* etc had been published by Richard Bentley (London, 1836) with 11 black and white lithographed plates. Quin's journey had taken place in 1834 and lasted 5 months.

An undated letter from W.H. Bartlett to Dr William Beattie gives an insight into the planning of the Danube book:

I have obtained the *Handbook to Southern Germany* which notices most of the subject of any consequence down the Danube from Ulm to the Black Sea... the most interesting part of the River is decidedly below Passau and I think of proceeding at once to Ratisbon and hence descending perhaps to Buda, but hopefully not below Vienna... As Virtue wishes to select some subjects for cuts could you favour me with the list of subjects as the sketches will stand in your description because those first wanted must be of course put in hand first. My present journey differs in the respect from any I have hitherto undertaken i.e. that it is at Virtue's own cost. This will of course prevent me from doing anything else unless previously arranged with him.⁷¹⁷

Murray's first two *Handbooks* on Northern and Southern Germany had come out respectively in 1836 and 1837. In Beattie's private biographical memoranda he notes 1841 as the date of the commencement of *The Danube Illustrated*. However Bartlett was in America from March to December 1841, and in the Middle East in 1842, so it seems likely that Bartlett concentrated on the Danube in 1843. The vignette title page states *The Danube* by William Beattie, illustrated in a series of views taken expressly for this work by W.H. Bartlett but the second title page has 'splendidly illustrated from sketches taken on the spot by Abresch and drawn by W.H. Bartlett'. The preface (p.iv) clarifies this:

In addition to the eighty steel engravings, the text is further illustrated by nearly the same number of woodcuts, which give a new and striking feature to the work, and render it, in point of pictorial embellishments, more rich and attractive than any of the popular series yet issued by the same

⁷¹⁷ William Beattie Collection, Holborn Local Studies Centre, ST2/1B/27 Box of Mss (A/47), see Appendix 1, Section IV, letter 6. Also quoted in Alexander Ross, *op.cit*, p.53.

enterprising Publishers. Of these illustrations, the greater portion was taken on the spot by M. Abresch, - a German artist of well-known talent and reputation, - and drawn by Mr Bartlett, who has also contributed various original views, interspersed throughout the work.

It is significant that Virtue introduced wood-engravings into the text. Demand for the illustrated book had declined. In 1841 *Punch* was begun with woodcut illustrations and importantly in 1842 the *Illustrated London News* was launched which contained numerous wood cuts of far better quality than the previous magazines with crude wood cuts such as the *Penny Magazine* (begun 1833). Virtue's *The Castles and Abbeys of England* (London, 1844) by William Beattie contained only a handful of steel plates (including two after Allom) out of 250 engravings. It was cheaper to publish being about 1/20th of the cost had steel been used throughout.⁷¹⁸ A second series was published in 1845 containing 27 steel engravings after Bartlett. By 1844 topographical books with steel engravings were in the doldrums; sales must have been slack, and it is exactly at this time that both Fisher and Virtue stop publishing new ventures but continued with reprints. Unable to publish his Holy Land sketches Bartlett took to writing and illustrating his own book *Walks about the City and Environs of Jerusalem* published by Virtue in 1844.

Perhaps Robert Fisher foresaw the end of popular demand for topographical works with steel engravings or economic necessity forced him to stop as no more new publications with new steel engravings were undertaken after *France Illustrated* ended publication in 1845. There were plenty of reprints and variants (as listed in Appendix 3). In 1845 *Hindustan, its Landscapes, Palaces, Temples, Tombs; the shores of the Red Sea; and the sublime and romantic scenery of the Himalyan Mountains*, edited Emma Roberts (she had died in 1840) and the Rev. G.N. Wright's *The Gallery of Engravings* (possibly a re-print) still bore the imprint Fisher, Son & Co. *Kitto's Gallery of Scripture Engravings* or *Fisher's Gallery of Scripture Engravings* carries the imprint of Fisher, Son & Co, the Caxton Press c.1846-47 but later editions have P. Jackson, late Fisher, Son & Co by 1849. Sometime between 1847 and 1849 Robert Fisher sold out to Peter Jackson and the imprints now read P. Jackson, late Fisher, Son & Co, The Caxton Press, Angel Street, St Martin's-Le-Grand, London. A series of re-issues with the old plates quickly takes place from 1849: *Westmorland and its Lake and Mountain Scenery* (58 plates after Allom previously used); *Cumberland its Lake and Mountain Scenery* (47 plates after Allom previously used); *Durham, Northumberland, their Lake and Mountain Scenery* (84 plates after Allom previously used).

⁷¹⁸ Ross quoting Beattie, op.cit, p.55.

Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* continued until 1852. Possibly this indicates when Peter Jackson relinquished control of the business. Designs after Allom appeared continuously in the *Drawing Room Scrap Book* for 20 years from 1832 to 1852. In total there are 164 Allom plates but all had appeared in other Fisher publications before being put into the *Drawing Room Scrap Book*. In the last year there were nine plates after Allom.

In 1853 the printer Ephraim Tipton Brain and the Publisher John Tallis (1818-1876) collaborated to form The London Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd with an address at 97, 98, 99 & 100 St John Street, London and by 1858 also in the USA at 1-55 Dey Street, New York. Brain brought Fisher and Jackson's plates into the business.⁷¹⁹ The old plates of Fisher and Jackson were re-used in a series of publications with new or altered titles: *The British Switzerland; or picturesque Rambles in the English Lake District, comprising a series of views of the Lake and Mountain scenery in Westmorland, Cumberland, Lancashire, Durham and Northumberland, from drawings taken on the spot by Thomas Allom* (with 109 plates after Allom previously used and dated 1858). There followed: *Lake and Mountain Scenery: Westmorland and Cumberland* (1858) with 23 plates after Allom previously used; in *The Chinese Empire Illustrated* (1858-59) the number of plates varies from 148, 150 or 156 plates (with 127 after Allom previously used); *History of France* by Thomas Wright (1859), also with plates after Allom, but some descriptions had been altered to make it more up to date after various regime changes had taken place since the original publication.

In the 1870s, long after most of the original artists were dead, were published: *Europe Illustrated* (1876): its *picturesque scenes and places of note... embellished with steel engravings by Turner, Allom, Bartlett, Leitch and other eminent artists. First series France, Belgium and the Rhine* by John Sherer. The imprint shows a change of address: London Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd, 26 Paternoster Row, London; and A.W. Gittens, 17 Park Place, New York; *The Classic Lands of Europe* (1879) by John Sherer with four plates after Allom previously used. *A History of Surrey* came out c.1877 with 53 plates after Allom previously used, by W.E. (sic) Brayley, edited and revised by Edward Walford and published not by The London Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd but by J. S. Virtue and Co, 294 City Road, London.

⁷¹⁹ source from John Tallis's *London Street Views 1838-40* (reprint, 1969) and Basil Hunnisett *An Illustrated Dictionary of British Steel Engravers* (Aldershot, 1989), p. 3.

Concluding Pointer.

Steel engraving was overtaken by other more efficient and different methods of illustration and by the 1850s many of the highly skilled engravers were finding it difficult to obtain work as the new technologies no longer needed their skill base. By the 1860s photography and photogravure took over ⁷²⁰ and it was only later in the century that there was a revival in wood engraving. Steel Engraving only survived because of reprints and reissues in the hands of wholesalers such as Henry Bohn, enterprises such as The London Printing and Publishing Co. and the efforts of *The Art Journal* which continued to provide employment to engravers. About 30 engravers were employed on the 1849 *Art Journal* which proclaimed:

It is indeed most fortunate for British line-engravers that our publication is successful; but for this work even the most eminent among them would be almost, if not altogether, without occupation.⁷²¹

In a review of *photographs of Egypt, Nubia and Ethiopia illustrated by 100 stereoscopic photographs by Frith with descriptions by Joseph Bononi and notes by Samuel Sharpe*, published by Smith, Elder & Co, in the *Art Journal* of 1862 the reviewer comments:

It is doubtless a great advantage to sit in London by a comfortable fire, and see the positive reflection of the antiquities of these most interesting and distant places...

but the reviewer says he was 'provoked' by:

remarks made by Mr Sharpe in his Preface, who slights Art as an interpreter of nature, by telling us that scientific accuracy is sacrificed at times to artistic effect: 'but when we look at photographic views we are troubled by no such misgivings. Here we have all the truthfulness of nature, all the reality of the objects themselves, and at the same time artistic effects which leave nothing to wish for'... we would say that this is not only unjust but untrue. Certainly no artist can rival the photographer in the production of such elaborate transcriptions of sculpture and hieroglyphics as many of these views present, but when 'artistic effects' are spoken of, we shall often look in vain at these views to find them. Indeed, there is a general blackness, in some that is not at all characteristic of the brilliant climate of Egypt, and is simply the result of the effect of the hot air and bright sun upon the negatives from which they are produced. There never was, nor could be, such a dark mass of confusion seen in the Colonnade at Philae, or the Temple of Luxor (plate 27) as is thus by chemical accident produced. Shadows can scarcely be said to exist in this land of sunshine and sand, and the works of Roberts and Lewis are consequently far more truthful than any photograph in this volume; inasmuch as they delineate the pure sky and arid air, the transparent shadows, and clear beauty of Egyptian scenery.

Throughout this study Fisher's success with illustrated topographical books would not have been possible without the engravers and the next chapter explores Fisher's engravers.

⁷²⁰ One could say that photography was born in 1839 through the experiments of Henry Fox Talbot in England (photography on paper) and Louis Daguerre in France (daguerrotype or one off photograph on a metal plate). By 1844 Fox Talbot takes a photograph of Nelson's column under construction in Trafalgar Square. By the 1850s photography becomes a money spinner with the introduction of photographic cartes de visites and studio portraiture such as Nadar's photograph of Baudelaire in 1854. Roger Fenton even photographed Samuel Palmer painting and it is rumoured that Turner took an interest and visited a photographer shortly before his death.

⁷²¹ *Art Journal* 1849, p. 357.

CHAPTER SIX

FISHER'S ENGRAVERS AND LINE ENGRAVING ON STEEL.

6.1 *Metropolitan Improvements*.

The key date to bear in mind in connection with Fisher's publications is when Fisher changed over to producing steel-engraved topographical illustrations. As has been seen in previous chapters it was towards 1829 that one may say that Fisher began his series of illustrated topographical books with domestic and foreign scenery. Britton identifies Fisher's rivalry with Jones & Co as the catalyst. This is confirmed in the numerous references by Robert Fisher to Jones's *Metropolitan Improvements* in his letters to the Irish artist George Petrie. The first monthly number of T.H. Shepherd's and Jones's *Metropolitan Improvements* was available in June 1827.⁷²² This publication contained lively close up views of buildings with bustling staffage which made other topographical works look 'niggling and diminutive' as Robert Fisher wrote to George Petrie in Letter 6 on October 11, 1828 (NLI, MS. 791, no.195). In this letter Robert Fisher reveals that his Father, Henry Fisher, took a close interest and 'is so anxious respecting the work' and commented on Petrie's designs - he thought Phoenix Lodge 'too still and quick'. His next letter written on October 24, 1828 (Letter 7, NLI, MS. 791, no.196) has scrawled on the top of it a note about the 'Bright sunshine effect - it is much noticed in Shepherd's London'. Indeed the Letters from Robert Fisher to George Petrie are particularly valuable in giving us an idea of what the publisher wanted from the artist and in particular how this related to the engravers.

6.2 Thomas Higham.

Petrie had most probably recommended the engraver Thomas Higham (1795-1844) to Robert Fisher as in Letter 4 (NLI, MS. 791, no. 193), dated September 30, 1828 Fisher replies:

We waited on Mr Higham but he cannot undertake any at present, his hands being full, hope you have not and will not write him on anymore about them as the matter must be kept secret at present.

Higham had been apprenticed to John Greig (fl. 1800-43), examples of both their work are in Thomas Hughson's *Walks of London* (c.1816-17) [figs. 209 and 210] and later in Nathaniel Whittaker's, *A New Guide to Fonthill Abbey* (1822) where the plate of Fonthill is drawn by T. Higham and engraved by J. Greig and is dated 8 October 1822. G.N Wright's *A Guide to the Lakes of Killarney*, a small octavo work, published by Baldwin, Cradock and Joy of

⁷²² source Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated*, op. cit. p. 370.

Paternoster Row in 1822 contains a total of five plates: two by T. Higham, two by T. Barber and one by G. Cooke. Interestingly it was Greig who had recommended Petrie to Fisher (see earlier chapter four and letters between Greig and Petrie in appendix 4). Greig had produced engravings for Thomas Kitson Cromwell's *Excursions in Ireland*, published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, J. Greig, Islington and P. Youngman, Witham and Maldon, Essex (c. 1820-21) for which Petrie had made some designs.⁷²³ Fisher in Letter One, August 15, 1828 (NLI, MS. 790, no. 190) states that Fisher, Son & Co had become purchasers of this work. Greig had been the engraver in charge of Thomas Kitson Cromwell's *Excursions through Ireland* (1820-21) illustrated with 97 drawings after Petrie out of a total of 120. The following engravers were also employed: Thomas Barber, Thomas Higham, J. Hawkins, Thomas Frazer Ranson (1784-1828), William Deeble, T.A. Dale, J.C. Varrall, William Wallis, R. Acon, and Edward John Roberts (1797-1865). In 1821 Higham had engraved some plates for Rev G.N. Wright's *Historical Guide to Ancient and Modern Dublin* published by Baldwin, Cradock & Joy in London. It was probably George Petrie who recommended G.N. Wright to Fisher as the best person to write the letter-press. One begins to see how closely the connections were interwoven in the engraving world. Greig often worked in collaboration with James Sargant Storer (1771-1853) for example: *Cowper Illustrated by a Series of Views* (1803), *Views in North Britain Illustrative of the Works of Burns* (1805), *Select Views of London and its Environs* (1804-05), *The Antiquarian Topographical Cabinet* (1807-11, issued as a part-work) and *Ancient Reliques* (1812). Higham's earliest engravings, aged 17, were for James Sargant Storer's *Ancient Reliques* (1812-13) and *Antiquarian Itinerary* (1815). Higham's earliest engravings in steel were for Shepherd's and Jones's *Metropolitan Improvements* (1827-32) and this may explain why Higham could not oblige Fisher for *Ireland Illustrated*. Higham was too busy. When Fisher found out that Higham was working for the rival publication he quickly wrote to Petrie asking him to keep secret about his latest work. However, in the end, Higham did supply two engravings after designs by Petrie of *The King's Bridge, Dublin* for Fisher's *Ireland Illustrated*, which are dated 1829. In 1820 Higham joined the *Artist's Annuity Fund* and was listed as Auditor in 1843, a year before his death in 1844 aged 49.

⁷²³ Full record from Copac, www.copac.ac.uk.

6.3 Edward Goodall.

Petrie must have been worried about who would engrave his designs for Fisher replies in Letter 5 on 6 October 1828:⁷²⁴

You may be certain of our taking every precaution and care to have the engraving well done, and perhaps when we mention that many are to be, and all under the superintendence of without doubt the most eminent Engraver in the line of the present day, you will feel some confidence in the statement, the Engraver is Mr. E. Goodall and it is only in consequence of his early connection with us that he is prevailed upon to lend his valuable assistance.

It would be very interesting to find out what the 'early connection' between Fisher and Goodall was. We know that earlier, in 1824, Robert Brandard, originally from Birmingham, spent a year as his pupil. Goodall provided the following Dublin views for *Ireland Illustrated: Dublin from Phoenix Park, Great Courtyard, Dublin Castle, Dublin from Blaquiery Bridge and Sarah's Bridge on the River Anna Liffey*, the latter plate dated 1828.

When Petrie seems to stray from illustrating in the style required then Fisher replies in Letter 6:

Allow me to point out No. 9 of Jones's *Metropolitan Improvements* is a good example of what we want our work to be - a representation of the Public Buildings, Churches etc, given in a broad, bold style showing the architecture clearly and distinctly - No. 15 of Jones's is also another good specimen.

Fisher adds he wants movement and staffage - 'but plenty of horses and carriages etc' and declares that the engravings after the designs of Auguste Charles Pugin for *Paris and its Environs*, published by Jennings & Co (London, 1828-31) were 'niggling and diminutive'. In Letter 4 (30 September 1828) Fisher remarks that Petrie's design for the *Roman Catholic Chapel* would, when reduced, appear very 'diminutive indeed'. He reports that all the drawings would admit of greater effect - the engravers remark 'they are all feeble' and besides:

Engravers are extremely difficult to be met with and unless we can furnish them with a constancy of work they will get it elsewhere.

Fisher is immensely frustrated by Petrie's slowness and failure to deliver his designs not only on time but also as close to the final state required for engraving and writes to Petrie in several letters explaining that times have changed, that the engravers were now very busy people. In Letter 5 (6 October 1828) Fisher reveals that 'Mr Goodall is doing *Sarah Bridge* and *Dublin* in his own house and we shall have this plate by the end of October'. This is an extremely significant statement as it confirms that there were two images to a plate just like *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* and that the engravers were not 'in house' but had their own workshops/ studios/ateliers which were usually attached or were inside a room in their

⁷²⁴ NLI, MS. 791, no. 194.

own houses. Also it gives us the length of time, about a month, for Goodall to engrave two plates, although it is not known whether Goodall had other work in hand. We know that Edward Goodall (1795-1870) had moved the year before, in 1827, to Mornington Grove Cottage, Mornington Grove (or Grove Cottage, Albert Street?) to accommodate his growing family and that his neighbours included Clarkson Stanfield who, with his wife Rebecca, was a regular visitor at the Goodalls' and played the card game *vingt et un* with them. J.M.W. Turner was also a visitor.⁷²⁵

Goodall began engraving on steel in 1826, principally for the *Annuals*, with his first steel plate being *Richmond Hill* after Turner for *The Literary Souvenir* of 1826, followed by engravings for *The Amulet* (1826), *Keepsake* (1828) and *Anniversary* (1829). His first engraving after Turner was *View of Tantallon Castle* dated 1 June, 1822 and published in Scott's *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (London, 1826). By 1830 Goodall engraved Turner's designs for Roger's *Italy*.

Edward Goodall's wife Eliza Ann's maiden name was Le Petit and it would be interesting to know if there is a connection with the Le Petit engravers?⁷²⁶ Goodall was paid £20 by Fisher for engraving Petrie's *Dublin from Phoenix Park* in *Ireland Illustrated*. Peter Murray mentions that Woolnoth wanted 50 guineas for two views.⁷²⁷

6.4 Robert Wallis and family.

In Letter 4 Robert Fisher asks Petrie if he could get some Dublin engravers to do some plates and suggests Petrie offer them between £10-12 a plate ('is what we pay here' - which suggests that this is what was offered to Robert Wallis for *Lancashire Illustrated*), this is confirmed in Letter 3 (18 September 1828), when Fisher states that the engraving of the plates for *Ireland Illustrated* would be the same rate as given to R. Wallis for 'our Lancashire work'. Robert Wallis (1794-1878) was son of Thomas Wallis (died 1839) who had been an engraver and assistant to Charles Heath. He was trained by his father. The advertisements for *Lancashire Illustrated* state that the engravings are 'by and under the superintendence of Mr. Robert

⁷²⁵ for Edward Goodall see www.goodallartists.ca, *Art Journal* 1870 p.182, Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* 1886, vol. I. p. 584, *DNB* 1890 and Diane Perkins, in *ODNB*, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10951, accessed 1 Feb 2006. Was this the same as Grove Cottage, Albert Street? Goodall became a member of the Artist's Annuity Fund in 1820.

⁷²⁶ There is some doubt as to whether there was one Le Petit or two as plates are signed either A. Le Petit or W. Le Petit. Holloway, in his index, lists two engravers but Hunnisett is more cautious and in his *Dictionary* (1989) queries this, listing William A. Le Petit (fl.1829-57). Certainly for Fisher's publications Le Petit produced at least 90 plates after designs by Allom, including 45 plates for *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated*.

⁷²⁷ Peter Murray, *George Petrie* (2004) op. cit., p. 69.

Wallis'. For *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* the advertisements give the engravers as Heath, Miller and Wallis etc. Robert Wallis produced over 40 engravings after Turner during Turner's lifetime including 12 copper engravings for *Picturesque Views in England and Wales* (the plates are dated between 1827 and 1835). According to Rawlinson's *The Engraved Work of J.M.W. Turner*, his earliest (copper) engraving after Turner is *Linlithgow Palace* (no.199) for *Provincial Antiquities of Scotland* dated 1822, when he was 28 years old (however Holloway, in his book on steel engraving in British topographical works, lists this engraving as no.14 in volume II and dates it to 1826 and as a *steel* engraving).⁷²⁸ Again two plates of Ramsgate and Folkestone by Wallis (Rawlinson, nos. 117 and 123) after Turner for Cooke's *Picturesque Views of the Southern Coast of England* dated 1824 and 1826 are listed by Holloway as steel engravings (nos. 4 and 12). The earliest steel engraving listed in Holloway done by Wallis was for W.G. Moss's *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Port of Hastings* dated 1824. Wallis's fellow co-engravers on this work were H. Adlard, R. Acon, J. Rolph, W.R. Smith and E. Goodall. Robert Wallis along with W. Wallis and H. Wallis executed a number of engravings for Shepherd's and Jones's *Metropolitan Improvements* (1827). By 1832 Robert Wallis was chief engraver for Virtue's *Switzerland Illustrated*. In a letter dated 21 March 1832, to Dr. Beattie the author of *Switzerland Illustrated*, W.H. Bartlett writes that he is not happy with Virtue's 'large connection'. Ross suggests that this refers to Robert Wallis.⁷²⁹

Robert Wallis's brother, William Wallis (1796- ?), was also an engraver. An early engraving by him was in Hughson's *Walks through London of Serjeant's Inn, Fleet Street* dated 1 February 1817 and published by W. Clarke of New Bond Street [fig. 211]. William Wallis also participated along with a total of 40 engravers in *Metropolitan Improvements*. William Wallis contributed 35 engravings to *Metropolitan Improvements*, James Tingle provided 33, Thomas Barber 26, W. Watkins 22, R. Acon did 20. Other engravers produced between ten and twenty plates but there is no common average as some engravers were simultaneously working for the other Jones's publications of *Modern Athens*, *Bath and Bristol* and *Wales Illustrated* - the latter after drawings by Henry Gastineau - all part of Jones's *Great Britain Illustrated*.⁷³⁰

⁷²⁸ W.G. Rawlinson, *The Engraved Work of J.M.W. Turner* (London, 1909 and 1919) nos.117, 123, 194, 199, 210, 212, 213, 217, 224, 235, 240, 246, 249, 263, 265, 282, 316, 320, 322, 323, 324, 326, 328, 330, 349, 350, 362, 367, 370, 372, 381, 394, 436, 442, 449, 451, 455, 497, 500, 621 and 622 are all listed as Wallis's engravings after Turner executed during Turner's lifetime.

⁷²⁹ Alexander M. Ross, *William Henry Bartlett*, op. cit. pp. 27-28.

⁷³⁰ Source Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated*, op. cit., p. 372.

6.5 Hints from our Lancashire Work.

The style that Fisher required is clearly outlined in Letter 7, written on 24 October 1828 (NLI, Ms. 791, no.196) in which Fisher tells Petrie to keep the figures as distinct and made out as possible (from a comment made by the engraver E. Goodall) and:

The following hints have been suggested to us for our Lancashire Work - will suit Dublin etc. also - The Views should be chosen and executed with some regard to system and selection:

1st. A series of views of the City or Town from 2 to 4 distant points showing the commanding and exterior features and forms of the buildings and the surrounding country, being very scrupulous in drawing the outlines of hills and buildings.

2nd. The popular entrances or approaches to the Place, taking in each view some leading object near the foreground, to come as a principal feature.

3rd. Show some of the finest and best streets, squares, terraces etc.

4th. The most interesting buildings externally and internally.

5th. Monuments of very eminent persons, local processions - ceremonies - customs

6th. In street views, where practicable, give the names distinctly, over the various shops - it interests the parties in the work. A detailed list of these to be made out fully, for the Publishers and Editors inspection and mutual communication with each other.

Letter 8 (NLI, MS. 791, no.197) dated 3 November 1828 urges speed and comments:

You are not quite so well acquainted with the London Engravers as ourselves, or you would see the cause of our anxiety on this point - if they have not a Drawing ready to go on with immediately on finishing what is in hand they take up another plate and put ours on one side.

6.6 Milk and Water effects.

Letter 10 (NLI, MS. 791, no.199) of 10 February 1829 complains that Petrie's figures are still 'too sketchy' and that:

before we can produce engravings equal to Jones's or Westall's the Drawings must be finished exactly, as they appear when engraved and nothing left for the Engraver to make out. Shepherd will not allow any alteration in his in effect or architecture. If yours were for Pictures merely, they would be [do?] admirably. Engraving is much altered to what it was 3 or 4 or some years' ago, when they had to go begging for work, then they had time to find inclination to attend to making out the Drawings. Now they will not. Your figures are infinitely better than Shepherds, but from the slight manner in which they are finished, are lost in the Engravings.

All make the same complaints as to your Drawings, beautifully outlined 'milk and water' effects. Barber, Higham, Goodall, Winkles, Brewer etc, etc. As to your Skies do take our advice and make them as quiet as possible with a light flickering cloud or two hovering about. This in a general way would add much to the Engravings.

This is a key letter in that it stresses that the Engraver expected to have nothing to make out. The comparison to Shepherd is pertinent and one wonders how Robert Fisher came by his information other than talking to the engravers, who were, in many instances the same ones for both *Metropolitan Improvements* and other Jones & Co's publication as for Fisher's *Ireland Illustrated*.

6.7 James Norris Brewer.

The mention of Brewer is significant as Brewer did not engrave a single plate for *Ireland Illustrated*, however James Norris Brewer (died c.1829-30) produced his *Beauties of Ireland*

in two volumes published by Sherwood, Jones and Martin in 1825. The ODNB mention Brewer as a novelist and topographer but not as an engraver.⁷³¹ However three letters exist from Brewer to Petrie and are reproduced in Appendix 4 (NLI, Ms. 789, nos.46, no.59 and 70). These letters date from 1822, 1824 and possibly 1826. All three letters mention the engraver James Sargant Storer (as seen above in association with John Greig). Number 46 talks of a part work and that the proprietors wanted some views of seats of the nobility and that part one would need some views of Dublin and also mentions Storer. Letter 59 dated 1822 mentions that the publishers of *Beauties of Ireland* were determined only to sell copies through the hands of the Irish booksellers and not direct to the public. Storer 'begs me to suggest to you that it is very desirable that you would be pleased to introduce 'figures of all descriptions, Carriages etc, anything that will impart animation to the scenery' in future views. Letter 70, dated 1824, again mentions Storer and that 'we shall be extremely glad to receive the six drawings you are preparing'. One can see that Petrie was already being urged to add some lively staffage and that he was wont to be slow with delivering his designs.

6.8 Thomas Barber.

Thomas Barber was also an engraver on *Ireland Illustrated*. Peter Murray in his book on Petrie says Barber 'boggled at' engraving the *Interior of the Carmelite Friary* even when offered 18 guineas to do it by Fisher (J. Rogers is listed as the engraver).⁷³² Barber's earliest engravings were for T.K. Cromwell's *Excursions through Ireland* (1820-21). By 1821 he was listed as a member of the *Artist's Annuity Fund*. His first steel engraved work seems to be for T.K. Cromwell's *Colchester*, which contains four engravings of churches by Barber, produced by P. Youngman, John Greig and published by Robert Jennings (1825).⁷³³ Two of Barber's engravings appeared in J.P. Neale's *An Account of the Deep-Dene in Surrey, Seat of Thomas Hope Esq* published by J. McCreery, Took's Court, Chancery Lane (1826). Barber contributed 11 engravings to Shepherd and Jones's *Metropolitan Improvements* (1827-30), a further 11 engravings to *Modern Athens*, 12 engravings to *London and its Environs*, 4 for *Wales Illustrated* and 2 for *South Wales Illustrated* after Henry Gastineau but published by Jones & Co as part of Jones's *Great Britain Illustrated* and one engraving to *Bath and Bristol*. After *Ireland Illustrated* (1831) Barber engraved *Wivenhoe Park* and *Waltham Abbey* for T. Wright's *Essex*, published by Virtue in 1831. The second view of both *Wivenhoe Park* and

⁷³¹ John D. Haigh, 'Brewer, James Norris (fl.1799-1830)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), article 3362, accessed 24 Nov 2008. No mention is made of any Irish works or correspondence with George Petrie.

⁷³² Peter Murray, *George Petrie*, op. cit., p. 70.

⁷³³ listed in Holloway, op. cit., pp. 58-59. Holloway lists Barber's work in 16 publications.

Waltham Abbey happened to be by J. Rogers (the engraver of *Carmelite Friary* as above). One wonders if this is a coincidence or whether they worked together? Barber also worked on a John Britton publication, *Picturesque Views of the English Cities* (1828), one engraving after a G.F. Robson view of Worcester. Barber did one steel engraving for Brockedon's *Alps* (1828-9).⁷³⁴ In 1835 appeared T. Barber's *Isle of Wight* after designs by W.H. Bartlett and thereafter he engraved for a series of Fisher publications including: *Chester, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Rutland Illustrated*, (1836), Carne's *Syria* (1836-38), Walsh's *Constantinople and Asia Minor Illustrated* (1838) and Virtue's *Scotland Illustrated* (1838) as well as *Views in the Tyrol* (Tilt, 1833).

6.9 The Winkles Family.

The last engraver mentioned in Fisher's letter criticising Petrie was Winkles. Basil Hunnisett and Bernard Adams both list four Winkles: Benjamin, Henry, J.R, and Richard. John Pye lists a Henry Winkles as joining the *Artist's Annuity Fund* in 1823. Fisher's publications have three Winkles: Benjamin, Richard and H. Winkles. John Britton's *Graphical and Literary Illustrations of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire*, published and printed by the author in 1823, lists H. Winkles as one of the engravers. Benjamin Winkles engraved *College Street in Ireland Illustrated* after Petrie, which is dated on the plate 1828, as well as *Bank of Ireland, Dublin (South Portico)* and *Post Office, Dublin*. The latter view of the *Post Office* is reminiscent of Jones's *Metropolitan Improvements* with a close up view of the building and bustling staffage including carriages, street urchins and men carrying advertising placards. Richard Winkles is credited with engraving *Strongbow's Monument* after Petrie in the same publication, *Nelson's Pillar, Sackville Street, Dublin*, and *St George's Church, Dublin*, all three dated 1829. Henry and Benjamin Winkles are best known for *Cathedral Churches of England and Wales* (1836) and *French Cathedrals* (1837) both published by Charles Tilt. The first publication started out as a part-work *Winkles's Architectural and Picturesque Illustrations of the Cathedral Churches of England and Wales* published in the beginning by Effingham Wilson (1836). Both works contained steel engravings after designs by the architect and draughtsman Robert Garland (1808?-1863) who, like Thomas Allom, attended the Royal Academy Schools in 1827 at the age of 19. One of the designs engraved by Benjamin Winkles was an interior view of *Ely Cathedral, the Choir* (160 x 104 mm, 6 ¼ x 4 1/8 inches) from a composite study by Hablot Knight Browne (1815-82, later he became the illustrator of Dickens under the name

⁷³⁴ Hunnisett claims it is Barber's first steel engraving but this is incorrect as seen above in T.K. Cromwell's *Colchester*.

'Phiz') and Robert Garland.⁷³⁵ A second design was of the northern transept, central tower and chapter house of *York Cathedral* drawn by Hablot Browne, engraved by B. Winkles and published by Effingham Wilson on 1 August 1835. In a rare mention the plate states it was printed by Storer [fig. 212].

6.10 Copper-plate engravers.

Many of the engravers that were later linked with Fisher's publications began their careers as copper plate engravers. If one takes the example of Britton and Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales* (1801-1816) one finds that one of James Basire the elder's apprentices, John Le Keux was involved as well as Henry Le Keux, William Radclyffe, Robert Sands, J. Shury, Robert Wallis and William Woolnoth. There was also John Greig who later recommended George Petrie to Robert Fisher and who worked closely with James Storer on numerous publications such as Storer and Greig's *Select Views of London and its Environs* (1804). Hughson's *Walks through London* (1817) have copper plates engraved by not only J. Greig, T. Higham, W. Wallis but also E.I. or E.J. Roberts and J.C. Varrall whose *St Paul's Cathedral* is exceptionally detailed for an engraved surface measuring only 3 ½ x 2 ½ inches [fig. 213]. Robert Sands was chief engraver to Brayley's *Westminster Abbey* (1818-23) with 14 plates after designs by John Preston Neale, other engravers involved were the two Le Keux's, William Radclyffe, William Woolnoth, J.C. Varrall, W.R. Smith, and J. Tingle.

Charles Heath, who used steel engravings at an early date in his various *Annuals*, also used steel engraved plates in his *Views in London* (1825) although the series was never completed (45 out of 60 plates were made, size 125 x 200 mm). The prospectus for this work indicated that the 'Picturesque Views' were by Peter Dewint (x23) and the 'Architectural' ones were by Frederick Mackenzie (x 7) and William Westall (x 15). However soon afterwards Heath's *Picturesque Views in England and Wales* (1827-38), with designs after Turner, was engraved on copper by W. Radclyffe, Robert Wallis, J. T. Willmore, W.R. Smith, E. Goodall, J.C. Varrall, W. Miller, T. Jeavons, C. Westwood, W. Tombleson, J.B. Allen, J. Henshall, J.H. Kernot, J. Horsburgh, W.J. Cooke, T. Higham and R. Brandard. Copper may have been chosen as being more suitable for predominantly landscape designs and the size of the engravings were larger (160 x 240 mm).⁷³⁶ This may point to the fact that steel was harder to engrave and suited smaller projects such as architectural delineations which needed fine

⁷³⁵ For Garland see Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th edition (Oxford, 2006). Garland is not listed in the ODNB.

⁷³⁶ source Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated*, op. cit. p. 357.

detailing, but when it came to larger landscape plates Heath chose to remain with copper plates. Also in the mid 1820s steel plates were a new innovation.

It seems that John Britton decided to turn to steel engraving to make accurate architectural designs for Britton and Pugin's *Illustrations of the Public Buildings in London* (1825-28), engraved on steel plates by John Le Keux, Henry Adlard, James Carter, Frederick J. Havell, J. Tingle and H. Winkles.⁷³⁷ Perhaps this work prompted Jones & Co to commence publication of *Metropolitan Improvements*.⁷³⁸

However, not everyone changed to steel and George Cooke continued to engrave on copper, for example 15 designs after Turner for his brother Edward Cooke's *Picturesque Views on the Southern Coast of England* (1814-26). He had earlier engraved Turner's designs after Hakewill's sketches for *Picturesque Tour of Italy* (1820).

Genealogy or Synoptic Table of Engravers and their inter connections:

Many of the engravers who worked with Turner also worked for the firms of Fisher and Virtue. Engravers were a close knit community, indeed many were members of the same family over several generations. It seems possible to establish a genealogy or synoptic table of the various relationships including where they were born, who they were apprenticed to and for whom they worked. There seems to be a London and a Birmingham 'school' of engravers.

6.11 Birmingham engravers.

Take the example of William Radclyffe (1783-1855) who was born in Birmingham. He was a relative of John Pye (1782-1874), and both were apprenticed to W. Tolley, a writing engraver in Birmingham. They attended the drawing classes of Joseph Vincent Barber (1788-1838) in Birmingham. Both went to London but Radclyffe returned to Birmingham where he had a number of pupils and assistants including James Tibbitts Willmore (1800-63). Born in Birmingham, he was a pupil of Radclyffe aged 14, studied at J. V. Barber's and then went to London and was for three years assistant to Charles Heath. His brother Arthur Willmore (1814-88) was also an engraver. Other pupils and assistants included Samuel Fisher, Joseph Goodyear, Thomas Jeavons, and William's son Edward Radclyffe (1810-63), taught by his father, attended J. V. Barber's drawing school and then worked for Heath, Fisher and Virtue.

⁷³⁷ *ibid.* p. 348.

⁷³⁸ as suggested by Bernard Adams, *Illustrated London*, op. cit. p. 369.

Robert Brandard (1805-62) was also part of the Birmingham 'school'. In 1824 he was a pupil of Edward Goodall in London and by 1825 was working as an engraver in London. His pupils included Joseph Clayton Bentley (1809-51) who worked for Fisher and Virtue, another pupil was his brother-in-law Floyd (possibly William Floyd) and his younger brother Edward Paxman Brandard (1819-98) who was apprenticed to his brother in 1830 aged 11. James Baylis Allen (1803-76) was also from Birmingham and was articled to his elder brother, Josiah Allen, and in 1821 attended the classes of J. V. Barber and Samuel Lines and subsequently worked for the Findens, Charles Heath and Robert Wallis. Radclyffe and Brandard probably came from families already in the the printing and engraving trade. Pigot's directory (1818-20) lists both Thomas Brandard and W. & T. Radclyffe as engravers and copper-plater printers in Birmingham.

6.12 London engravers.

In London James Basire II (1769-1822) trained Henry Le Keux (1787-1868) and his elder brother John Le Keux (1783-1844). John Le Keux's son was John Henry Le Keux (1812-96) who studied under James Basire III (1796-1869). Pupils of John Le Keux included E. Challis, Thomas Turnbull and J. Tingle. William Bernard Cooke (1778-1855), the son of a German immigrant from Frankfurt am Main called Guck, who changed his name to Cooke, was apprenticed to William Angus, an engraver noted for *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry in Great Britain and Wales* (c.1787-1800). W. B. Cooke opened a print gallery and shop at 9 Soho Square, London in 1821. He had dealings with both Constable and Turner including publishing *Picturesque Views of the Southern Coast of England* (1814-26) containing 40 plates after Turner and 40 plates by other artists. W. B. Cooke's apprentices were Frederick Smith, J.C. Allen and W. Brandard.

His brother was George Cooke (1781-1834). He was apprenticed to James Basire II in 1795 aged 14. He produced 20 line engravings after Turner between 1813-26 including plates for Hakewill's *Picturesque Tour of Italy* (1818-20) and 15 plates for *Picturesque Views of the Southern Coast of England*. George Cooke published *Views of London and its Vicinity* in parts from 1826-34. It was planned to have 80 plates showing the rapidly developing metropolis but unfortunately the designs were on copper-plates at a time when steel-plates were the vogue and Cooke was forced to reduce the number of plates to 48. One of his apprentices was William Miller (1796-1882), born in Edinburgh, apprenticed to William Archibald in Edinburgh in 1811 for four years before becoming George Cooke's pupil from

1819-21. Cooke was also drawing master at his wife's boarding school in Barnes and it is interesting to note that the daughters of both Clarkson Stanfield and David Roberts were pupils. William John Cooke (c.1796-1865) was the nephew of George Cooke and was apprenticed to him around 1810. He married in 1823 Mary Boys, sister of his fellow apprentice Thomas Shotter Boys. W. J. Cooke engraved for the Annuals including the *Gem*, *Amulet*, *Bouquet*, *Friendship's Offering* and the *Oriental Annual* (1834).

6.13 The Findens.

William Finden (1787-1852) and Edward Finden (1791-1857) were apprenticed and trained by James Mitton. They set up at 18-19 Southampton Place, Euston Square, where their pupils included Samuel Hollyer, Thomas Philibrowne, George Price, Samuel Rawle, Samuel Sangster and J. H. P. Stubbs. Assistants included James Baylis Allen (who also was assistant to Charles Heath and Robert Wallis), John W. Archer, Frederick Bacon, Charles Rolls and Lumb Stocks. Hablot Browne, the future Phiz who illustrated Dickens, was also a pupil here and Valerie Brown Lester states that 'Phiz hated the slavery of engraving other people's images' and was saved by Henry Winkles who brought 'his friend from Findens' to join his brother Benjamin Winkles on engraving the three volumes of *Winkles's Cathedrals* (1836).⁷³⁹

6.14 James and Charles Heath.

It is said the Findens were inspired by the workshop practices of James Heath (1757-1834). Heath had been apprenticed to Joseph Collyer the younger and was employed by the Robinson family of booksellers in Paternoster Row from 1779-1804. He became one of the leading engravers of his day and was elected ARA in 1791. His son was Charles Heath (1785-1848) who trained under his father. He specialized in topographical prints. He also pioneered new printing techniques. In 1820 he engraved the first plate on mild steel rather than copper for an edition of Thomas Campbell's poem *The Pleasures of Hope*. In the 1820s and 1830s Charles Heath was the prime mover for the success of the Annuals including the *Keepsake*. Apart from the *Keepsake* his own productions included the *Picturesque Annual* and the *Book of Beauty*.

Heath employed many assistants including George T. Doo, James Henry Watt, his two sons Frederick (1810-78) and Alfred (1812-96), Robert Wallis (1794-1878), James Tibbitts Willmore and James Baylis Allen (1803-76). Allen engraved 16 plates after Turner between

⁷³⁹ Valerie Brown Lester, 'Phiz, Dickens and London', Gresham School Lecture, 28 November 2006, www.Gresham.ac.uk.

1830 and 1859, plates after Bartlett and Allom. Allen, along with William and Edward Radclyffe and the Willmores, belonged to what might be called the Birmingham school of engravers.

6.15. William Miller, Edinburgh.

William Miller (1796-1882) was apprenticed to William Archibald in Edinburgh in 1811 for four years, then, wishing to study landscape engraving, he went to Hackney in London and joined the workshop of George Cooke in 1819 for eighteen months as an apprentice at a cost of £240. Miller returned to Edinburgh in 1821 and set up as a landscape engraver. An early engraving was the *Castle of Nurnberg* for Captain Batty's *German Scenery*, 1823. A copper plate still exists of *Edinburgh from Arthur's Seat* after H. H. Williams ('Grecian' Williams), published by John Shepherd of Edinburgh in 1826 and republished in 1846, for which Miller was paid £140 in 1826 [fig. 214]. The *ODNB* citation states that Miller first used steel plates from 1825. Miller produced many engravings for the *Annuals* including Jennings' *The Landscape Annual* 1830-32, Heath's *Picturesque Annual* 1832-34 and *The Keepsake* 1831-34. Miller's first work for Fisher, Son & Co. were engravings for Thomas Rose's *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* published in 1832 and engravings for Captain Elliot's *Views in the East comprising India, Canton and the Shores of the Red Sea*, Fisher, 1833. However Miller is best known for his engravings after J.M.W. Turner including: *Turner's Annual Tour, The Loire* 1833, *The Seine* 1834-35, Samuel Roger's *Poems*, Cadell's *Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott* 1833-34, *Picturesque Views in England and Wales*, published by Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1838.⁷⁴⁰

6.16. Apprentices. J. McGahey.

Robert Fisher mentions 'if we could have had drawings for McGahey, an Irish lad, who serves his apprenticeship at the Caxton office to me'...⁷⁴¹ It seems McGahey may have been employed to 'touch in effect' before the design was sent to the engraver. One design for *Ireland Illustrated* after Petrie, *The Vice-Regal Lodge, Phoenix Park, near Dublin*, was engraved by J. McGahey.

Appendix 6 gives a list of both Fisher's and Virtue's engravers.

⁷⁴⁰ Information on William Miller from William Frederick Miller (son), *Memorials of Hope Park* (privately printed, 1886) and *A catalogue of Engravings by William Miller 1818-71* (privately printed, 1886); *ODNB* entry (2004-6) by Lois Oliver; the *ODNB* entry (1894) which contains a fuller entry and www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk.

⁷⁴¹ Fisher to Petrie 11, MS. 790, no. 189, 4 April 1829.

Concluding Pointer.

John Pye remarked that:

the art of engraving may be called peculiarly English, and singularly adapted to manual dexterity, mechanical invention, and superiority of the science of metallurgy, which nature and art have made the characteristics of our countrymen.

This sounds particularly jingoistic but he qualifies this and makes a valid point in saying:

The mechanical improvements in engraving, the ruling-engine, the steel-engraving, the very tools and materials of the art, have had their birth in England, or, at least, their development. This combined with 'the multiplication of middling fortunes' led to a printing boom in which 'copper has been turned into gold'.⁷⁴²

⁷⁴² John Pye, *Patronage of British Art* (London, 1845), pp. 211-212.

CONCLUSION

This Thesis has, through a detailed investigation of the illustrated works of Henry Fisher, Son & Co, contributed to a better understanding of the introduction, production and sale of steel-engraved illustrated books in the early nineteenth century. The context in which a print was published affects the way it is categorized.⁷⁴³ Certain preconceived and long-held assumptions about steel engraving have been challenged including that it was a debased reproductive medium, beneath the regard of the art historian. Certainly reproduction or multiple impressions lacks the unique existence of the original. However, Walter Benjamin has argued that 'the work of art reproduced becomes the work of art designed for reproducibility... with the different methods of technical reproduction of a work of art, its fitness for exhibition increased to such an extent that the quantitative shift between its two poles turned into a qualitative transformation of its nature'.⁷⁴⁴ In the eyes of both the publisher and the buying public a quality product deserved art of evident quality to go with it. These topographical view books with their steel engravings were intended to be regarded as highly skilled works and capable of evoking an aesthetic response. This was, after all, precisely the age of Turner.

This perceived lack of quality combined with some of the selling methods derived from more downmarket forms of publication might have led contemporary and later commentators to make certain assumptions and overlook the quality. Clearly some of the selling methods derived from the old methods of number selling but it proved effective and certain of these practices are still used in periodical publishing today.

What has been difficult to spot and has also been missed by book history and book trade studies was the change in direction by Henry Fisher from publisher of religious numbers and universal texts for the less well-off classes to publishing illustrated topographical books for the middle-class market. This omission may be explained partly because this took place in the period 1821-28 when he made the transition from Liverpool to London, and at the same period that he adopted the new technological advance of steel engraving and applied it to

⁷⁴³ Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550-1850* (London, 1999), p. 12.

⁷⁴⁴ Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' in *Illuminations*, edited Hannah Arendt (London, 1970), pp 219-253.

topographical works.⁷⁴⁵ By this detailed study of Fisher's publications stretching back to his time in Liverpool one can see a continuity in his business methods once he had established his new business in London.

The successful sale of view-books and embellished literature of the early nineteenth century was the result of a combination of circumstances: the development of efficient methods of production, sales, marketing and distribution. It is fortunate that a list of Fisher's agents and distribution centres has survived (3.20). Production innovations included larger print runs thanks to the more durable steel plates that replaced the softer copper plates. There were a number of disadvantages such as the time taken to hand-pull the plates and the fact that the text and image were on separate pages, whereas wood engravings could be incorporated within the text and this was soon exploited for the mass market by new publications such as the *Illustrated London News*, first published in 1842. Another disadvantage was that the engravings were in black and white whereas another contemporary method, Lithography, could produce both black and white and fine colour illustrations by artists directly drawing on stone. The limits to this process was the storage of the lithographic stones, the number of impressions, the time it took and the expense of production. Whatever method of illustration was used in topographical books it coincided with the improvement in the production and quality of books, encompassing improvements in the quality and availability of paper, the introduction of new methods of stitching and binding and the improved attractiveness of the covers of books. Faster and more efficient printing presses brought a revolution in printing text for both newspaper and book production. With greater volume of production books became less expensive to produce and to buy. There was a 'trickle down' effect. This effect has been pointed out by William St Clair (2004), in that the more popular a book, such as Sir Walter Scott's *The Lady of the Lake*, the more editions were printed which in turn led to the size and price of the book being reduced and sold in popular editions.

The production of illustrations from steel-engraved plates, which was done by hand, was too slow a process for daily newspaper and weekly magazine publishing; the only exceptions in

⁷⁴⁵ This change in direction has been missed by most studies of the period owing to a number of factors, firstly the change in name from Nuttall, Fisher & Dixon to Henry Fisher, Son & Co. makes it difficult to follow the connection. Secondly the trade directories and other traditional tools used by the book historian as well as electronic resources do not pick up on this change as, during this period, Fisher continued to republish the same texts as before, either he was able to save some of the stereotype plates from the 1821 fire, or those he lost he re-set in new editions of his old works (3.22). Fortunately the letters of his son, Robert Fisher to the Irish artist George Petrie survive in the National Library in Ireland and these letters were written at a crucial time in 1828-29 when Fisher, Son & Co changed direction and enthusiastically embraced topographical book publishing or 'view-books' with steel engravings, having been inspired by Jones & Co's success with *Metropolitan Improvements*.

magazine publication were the *Annals*, for which there was more time, and the *Art Journal* in its new series beginning in 1849, at the end of the heyday for steel engraving. By then steel engraving was on the decline as other more rapid methods of book illustration replaced steel engravings including electro 'steel-facing' (see 2.2), wood engraving, photography, heliogravure and photogravure. The era of the steel engraved topographical book was brief, about thirty years, and was killed off by technological developments. Yet how important was it that the public's mind/popular imagination was conditioned by this deluge of imagery in the three decades from the mid to late 1820s to the early 1850s? Did it, in any visual or cultural sense, contribute to 'setting things up' for the Age of Empire to come?

However, these technological developments in printing are only a part of a wider picture. The London monopoly on the sale, marketing and distribution of books at first ignored the hawking of part works around the rest of the country and stuck to its book sales agreements with booksellers in regional cities but the success of the sale of religious works by these methods ('numbers' trade) was then taken up by certain publishers and booksellers. Perhaps it was never regarded as a threat but was just swallowed up and became another useful tool for selling (3.1). What this study has also shown is that it is necessary to distinguish between the first production of the steel engraved images and the subsequent reprinting and re-issuing of them often re-packaged and purporting to be new. Previous to this study this had not been clearly recognised and what was new and what was re-published had muddled the waters so that no clear picture had emerged (for example it was not the purpose of Holloway to distinguish between original and reprinted engravings and his *Bibliography* therefore includes reprints without indication). This is further complicated in the 1840s by the specialist reprint and remainder publishers which gave the impression that steel engraving lasted well into the 1870s when, in fact firms like Fisher and to a certain extent Virtue (if one excepts the *Art Journal*) had ceased this sort of publication twenty years earlier. This study has established a reliable, chronological, select bibliography of Fisher's illustrated publications (listed in Appendix 3) and identified those which are reprints.

Topographical artists, or those who mainly drew or sketched in watercolour, found that patronage had changed from the aristocratic patrons of the previous century. Some artists found working with the publishers both beneficial and lucrative, but this depended on the terms agreed; there were not many as hard nosed and successful as J.M.W. Turner, and almost all had to bear the costs of travel themselves, although some were re-imbursed for their

expenses and a few were paid by the publisher. This study has demonstrated that the motivation and ambition of the two main topographical artists Thomas Allom and W.H. Bartlett providing designs for the publishers were quite distinct and that their designs were more creative and less reproductive than has hitherto been credited. This study has also established an accurate chronology of their works and corrected the many errors in attribution of the works and has clearly identified which publishers they worked for. What is surprising is that one finds that both Fisher and Virtue 'borrow' each other's leading artist, for example Bartlett for Fisher's *Syria and Holy Land Illustrated* and Allom for Virtue's *Scotland Illustrated*. By the mid 1840s, during an economic downturn, an artist such as W.H. Bartlett changed career and became editor of a Virtue-backed publication, *Sharpe's London Journal*, before becoming both author and illustrator of a series of books about his travels to the Holy Land. Thomas Allom concentrated on his career as an architect.

Another aspect of Fisher's approach to publishing, which this study has highlighted, is that the publisher seems to have been motivated by philanthropy, possibly out of religious conviction, but certainly there is a theme of *Utilitas et Voluptas* (instruction and amusement) and self improvement. Timperley, in a footnote in his *Dictionary of Printers and Printing*, remarks that 'it is curious that Mr Fisher and Mr Baines, natives of the same town, neither of them indebted to the favours of fortune in early life, but entirely dependent on their own exertions, should have both risen to such a rank in their respective occupations'. Timperley refers to Fisher as 'an indulgent master' to his workforce many of whom had been in his employ for a period of thirty-six years and much admired for his 'soundness of judgement and kindness of heart'.⁷⁴⁶

The publishers themselves took huge risks to publish and there were many failures, some of them spectacular, entailing the ruin of more than just the publisher, for example Sir Walter Scott, Constable and Co., and also Heath, overreached themselves. The use of serial publication, of 'extended sale' was a great benefit to certain publishers. In fiction the three decker novel continued to be published into the 1880s but lessons were learnt from part-works so that by the 1840s novels such as those by Charles Dickens were successfully serialised in numbers and were enhanced by wood engravings. These novels successfully combine text and image in such a way that it is difficult to disassociate one from the other; the illustrations of Phiz (Hablot Browne), Cruikshank or Cattermole complement, at times even define, the

⁷⁴⁶ Timperley, op. cit, p.949.

writing of Dickens, whereas the letter-press of the illustrated topographical books as well as the *Annals* are, for the most part, detached. Often today the image remains but the book has been broken up and the text discarded.

This study of a neglected, if not forgotten, publishing firm fills a gap in the knowledge about the introduction, production and sale of topographical books with steel engravings in the 1830s and 1840s and that despite a serious lack of archival material it has been possible, as William St Clair (2004) suggested, to use alternative methods and approaches in order to understand the workings of what Robert Fisher described as 'the peculiarities of our business'. It is to be hoped that this study will lead to further information or archival material being discovered. Furthermore, this study will provide the basis for a catalogue raisonné of Fisher's domestic and foreign topographical publications, or at least, for a detailed bibliography with the collation of each work listed in full with the titles of the plates and the names of the artists and engravers, which is much to be desired and would compliment and expand upon Merlyn Holloway's *Bibliography of nineteenth-century British topographical books with steel engravings*. Indeed it would be advantageous to extend such a study to incorporate the *oeuvre* of W. H. Bartlett for George Virtue & Co, which would prove of inestimable value as a reference tool for bibliographers, cataloguers, libraries and institutions.

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Note: in the transcription of the letters in Appendix 1 and Appendix 4

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Moorby, Nicola, 'An Italian Treasury: Turner's Sketchbooks' in *Turner and Italy*, ed. James Hamilton, (Edinburgh, 2009), pp.114-117.

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Twyncross-Martin, Henrietta, 'Sarah Stickney Ellis in *Wollstoncroft's Daughters: womanhood in England and France 1780-1920* by Clarissa Campbell-Orr (Manchester and New York, 1996).

C. Electronic Resources:

Bartlett Collection, McLaughlin Library, University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada
www.lib.uoguelph.ca/resources/archival

Bloomsbury Auctions, www.liveauctioneers.com

British Book Trade Index, University of Birmingham, www.bbti.bham.ac.uk

British Library:

Collect Britain website: <http://www.collectbritain.co.uk/collections>,

<http://www.bl.uk/collections> and www.bl.uk/collections/wider/topography.html

Also Maurice Willmore Barley's *Guide to British topographical collections* (1974) online at:
<http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/library/cba/op6.cfm>

British Museum Collection Database:

<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search> the collection database

Campbell-Orr, Clarissa, 'Mary Shelley's Rambles in Germany and Italy' in *The Celebrity Author and the Undiscovered Country of the Human Heart*, conference at Anglia Ruskin University, 12-14 September 1997: <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~scat0385/rambles.html>

Copac, www.copac.ac.uk

English Short-Title Catalogue, www.bl.uk

Devon: *Etched on Devon's Memory*: <http://www.devon.gov.uk/etched>

Durham: *Pictures in Print*: <http://www.dur.ac.uk/picturesin print/>

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www.external.oneonta.edu/cooper/susan

www.Gresham.ac.uk Valerie Browne Lester, 'Phiz, Dickens and London', Gresham College Lecture, 28 November 2006

Guildhall Library's Print Room Collections:

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<http://onlinecatalogue.cityoflondon.gov.uk/TalisPrism/>

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Ireland: Prints and Drawings, National Library of Ireland: <http://hip.nli.ie/>

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Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, www.oxforddnb.com

Raven, James, and Nigel Hall, *Mapping the Print Culture of Eighteenth Century London*, <http://members.tripod.co.uk/bookhistory>

Solo (Search Oxford Libraries Online), www.solo.ouls.ox.ac.uk

Tate Gallery and Turner:

Turner Worldwide: <http://www.tate.org.uk>

Walter Scott: www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk

Wesley and Methodism:

The Online Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland,

www.dmbi.wesleyhistoricalsociety.org.uk

University of Minnesota, www.mh.cla.umn.edu for a complete copy of *The Commercial History of a Penny Magazine*

Wellcome Library, images.wellcome.ac.uk and catalogue.wellcome.ac.uk

Wilson, Mark, ed. *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor* (originally by Robert Walsh with illustrations by Thomas Allom), www.sevenchurches.org

Worman, Eugene C, Research material on *William Henry Bartlett* in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, www.aaa.si.edu/collections/findingaids/wormeuge

D. Unpublished dissertations

Banham, Rob, 'Frederick Gye and Giles Balne. A study of the firms Gye and Balne (1805-1829) and Balne (1829-1838), with particular reference to their colour printing', 2 vols, University of Reading (Ph.D.) 2004.

Kennedy, Andrew John, 'British topographical print series in their social and economic context, c.1720-c.1840', Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London (Ph.D.) 1998.

Painting, Vivienne, 'The commercial Maecenas: a study of the life and principal business concerns of John Boydell', University of Keele (Ph.D.) 1996.

Walker, Celia, 'Tracking Heaphy: Travels in the New Zealand Landscape', University of Auckland (Ph.D) 2009.

E. Auction Catalogues

Allom (1873) studio sale: *Catalogue of the whole of the remaining works of Thomas Allom, deceased*, Friday 14 March 1873, Christie, Manson and Woods, 8 King Street, St James's Square, London.

Allom Sale (1983) Christie's South Kensington Sale, 28 November 1983.

Allom Sale (1985) Christie's South Kensington Sale, 18 November 1985.

APPENDIX 1.

Select bibliography of works by William Henry Bartlett

I. Beattie's List of the Works of William Henry Bartlett. (with annotations and corrections)

Beattie's Omissions:

Beattie omitted to mention that Bartlett had contributed to G.N. Wright's *Ireland Illustrated*, published by Fisher in 1831. Bartlett made 33 designs out of 80 engraved plates, 24 of which were supplied by Petrie. Presumably Bartlett was hired to replace the slow progress of Petrie in about 1829. John Carne's *Syria and the Holy Land* (1836-38, listed below at number five, was also a Fisher publication. Barber's *Isle of Wight* published by Simpkin & Marshall in 1834 had 41 designs after Bartlett. Hunnisett states that Bartlett's first illustrations in steel were for S.W.H. Ireland's *England's Topographer* - Kent (begun 1828).

Works Illustrated by Bartlett:

1. *Essex-History and Topography of the County of*. By Wm. Wright M.A. (actually Beattie got this wrong, the author was Thomas Wright see M. Holloway, *A Bibliography of nineteenth century British Topographical books with Steel Engravings* (London, 1977) pp.190-91; it was published by George Virtue (London, 1831-35).
2. *Switzerland*. By Wm. Beattie, George Virtue (London, 1836); part published from 1834.
3. *Scotland*. By Wm. Beattie (illustrations after both Bartlett and Allom) George Virtue (London, 1838).
4. *The Ports, Harbours, Coast Scenery, and Watering Places of Great Britain* (known as *Finden's Ports, Harbours, Watering-Places* etc. with illustrations after Bartlett, J. D. Harding, T. Creswick and others) Charles Tilt began vol. I then George Virtue vol. II (London, 1842).
5. *Syria and the Holy Land, Asia Minor* etc. (Illustrated by Bartlett, Wm. Purser, vol III contains nine illustrations after Allom – curiously Purser does not have any illustrations in it, text by John Carne) 3 vols, Fisher, Son & Co. (London, 1836-38).
6. *Holland and Belgium*. By Professor Van Kampen. George Virtue (London, 1837).
7. *The Waldenses; or Protestant Valleys of Piedmont and Dauphiny*. By Wm. Beattie (other artists include Brockenden, Stanfield and Harding). George Virtue (London, 1838).
8. *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*. By Miss Pardoe. George Virtue (London, 1838-40).
9. *American Scenery*. By Nathaniel Parker Willis. George Virtue (London, 1840), advertised as a part-work from 1838.
10. *Canadian Scenery*. By Nathaniel Parker Willis. George Virtue (London, 1842), advertised as a part-work from October 21, 1840.
11. *The Danube*. By Wm. Beattie. George Virtue (London, 1844).
12. *Ireland- The Scenery and Antiquities of*. By Nathaniel Parker Willis and J. Stirling Coyne, George Virtue (London, 1842). Bartlett had already illustrated G. N. Wright's *Ireland Illustrated* in 1831 for Fisher, Son and Jackson but this is not mentioned by Beattie).
13. *The Christian in Palestine: or Scenes of Sacred History*. With explanatory descriptions by Rev. Henry Stebbing. George Virtue (London, 1847).
14. *The Life and Epistles of St Paul*. By Rev. W. J. Conybeare and Rev. J. S. Howson Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans (London, 1853).
15. *The Pictorial History of Scotland* (illustrations reprinted from *Scotland Illustrated*. By James Taylor, published by James S. Virtue (London, 1852-59).
16. *The Castles and Abbeys of England*. By Wm. Beattie. George Virtue (London, 1844).

II. Works Written and Illustrated by Bartlett:

17. *Walks about the City and Environs of Jerusalem*. (lithograph frontispiece, 27 engraved plates, and plans, woodcuts in the text) George Virtue (London, 1844).
18. *Views Illustrating the Topography of Jerusalem, Ancient and Modern*. Arthur Hall, Virtue (London, 1845).
19. *Forty Days in the Desert, on the track of the Israelites; or a journey from Cairo, by Wady Feiran to Mount Sinai and Petra*. (28 steel-engravings, woodcuts in the text) Arthur Hall, Virtue (London, 1848).
20. *The Nile Boat, or glimpses of the Land of Egypt*. 35 steel-engravings, woodcuts in the text. Arthur Hall, Virtue (London, 1849).
21. *Gleanings, Pictorial and Antiquarian on the Overland Route* 28 steel-engravings. Arthur Hall, Virtue (London, 1851).
22. *Footsteps of Our Lord, and his Apostles in Syria, Greece and Italy*. 23 steel-engravings, woodcuts in the text. Arthur Hall, Virtue (London, 1851).
23. *Pictures from Sicily*. 33 steel-engravings. Arthur Hall, Virtue (London, 1852).
24. *The Pilgrim Fathers; or The Founders of New England in the Reign of James the First*. With 28 steel-engravings, numerous woodcuts. Arthur Hall, Virtue (London, 1853).
25. *Jerusalem Revisited*. (Ross op. cit. correctly puts the date as 1855 not 1854) 22 steel-engravings and a folding panorama, numerous woodcuts) Arthur Hall, Virtue (London, 1855).
26. *Scripture Sites and Scenes, from actual survey, in Egypt, Arabia and Palestine*. Arthur Hall, Virtue (London, 1849).
27. *The History of the United States of America*. By W. H. Bartlett and continued by B. B. Woodward. George Virtue (New York, 1856).
28. *The Wilkie Gallery*. George Virtue (London and New York, 1848-50).

III. Annuals containing Steel Engraved Plates after Bartlett : (54 plates)

Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book: (44 plates)

1832- 4 plates :

- i) The upper Lake of Killarnay, Ireland, engraved Le Petit, dated Fisher, 1831
- ii) Lismore Castle, Co. Waterford, engraved R. Brandard, dated 1831
- iii) Curaghmore, Co. Waterford, engraved R. Brandard, dated 1831
- iv) Blarney Castle, Co. Cork, engraved Thos. Dixon, dated 1831

1833- 1

1837- 2

1838- 3

1839- 4

1840- 3

1841- 2

1842- 2

1843- 4

1844- 7

1845- 5

1846- 4

1847- 1

1848- 2

Juvenile Scrap Book:

1839- 1 plate

1848- 1

Remembrance:

1831- 2 plates

Christian Keepsake and Missionary:

1835- 1 plate

1836- 2

1838- 2

Cabinet of Literary Gems:

1832- 1 plate

IV. Select Letters to or from William Henry Bartlett

1. Letter from W.H. Bartlett to John Britton.

Edinburgh University Library, Laing II 426/34.

Leeds, August 2, 1827

My Dear Sir,

I proceed to give you an account of my proceedings since my last. I left York Saturday July 14 for Leeds, where I left my trunk at Mr Heaton's Bookseller and from thence through Bradford and the clothing country to Skipton where I remained Sunday.

Monday morning I got over to Bolton - 6 miles (?) and as there was no room at the Inn, put up a public house. On examining the spot I found the Abbey comparatively insignificant - and I judged that it would be better of course to attend to the situation and scenery than to make sketches of a poor building. The scenery on the Wharfe is very fine indeed. Having finished at Bolton left it Saturday afternoon and walked across the country to Knaresborough where I put up on Sunday. Seeing 2 good subjects here of the Castle I thought it would be better to sketch them on Monday but unfortunately the day proved rainy - so that I was forced to go on to Ripon - here I took a lodging. With respect to Fountains it is difficult to get any view that is not hackneyed. However I did the best I could aiming at variety. As Hackfall(?) was so near I thought you would perhaps like a sketch of the scenery which is fine. I had some idea of going up to Middleham and Bolton but as the weather was showery and it would have taken me 3 days (?) judged it prudent to decline it. Left Ripon wednesday morning and got to Knaresborough for breakfast after finishing there got to Leeds same evening. Here I found your packet which gave me great pleasure as I had some doubt whether you would approve of my proceedings. However I can only trust that what I have lately drawn/done (?) may be equally satisfactory. I enclose the sketch book you sent. With respect to the Bolton sketches you will see three of the Building and several others of the Scenery of Fountains. I hope you will approve my selection. I have aimed at shewing its differences and peculiarities. As there is nothing else of the kind quite similar I thought you would like a very characteristic scene. I could find no good exterior views as there is no inequality in the surface with respect to Knaresborough Castle. I thought the 2 sketches I selected (though lame (?) sketches) were good subjects. I saw no others of a similar degree of interest. I have been down to Kirkstall

which disappoints me very much as to situation - In my last I asked concerning it whether you would be satisfied with 3 or 4 sketches and as I hear nothing to the contrary I presume you will - of these I send two.

As I am now getting anxious to reach home as soon as possible I leave Leeds tomorrow night or the next morning for Doncaster. (I believe it is unfortunately the Races time so that I shall be badly off) and I think that I shall reach Lincoln about the end of next week- perhaps before. I am afraid you have given me nearly a weeks work. I really wish you could abridge it. The good street view I saw - but I cannot answer for another and if 2 or 3 instead of 4 sketches of the Castle would do and weather was favourable it will not detain me more than 3 days. I would not ask it but that everything I have is getting in confusion as you might be aware that I did not expect so long a stay.

You mention Tickhall Castle(?) which I have every reason to believe it nothing worth the trouble of an excursion - it is occupied by the Hon. Mr Lumley. I will make enquiry at Doncaster and if it is worth drawing I will go, but if not I hope you will not require it. Living at Inns is both expensive and unpleasant and I must of course adopt that plan for the remainder of my journey. Should I not go through Gainsborough I will forward the parcel and should I not go through Retford I presume it will be useless to forward to Mr Holmes' ...(?)

I shall not have enough cash to forward me beyond Lincoln so trust you will have the kindness to send some more. By the way you have I believe a sketch of Cattermole's of Lincoln - if you can send it I will examine it and make any memoranda necessary for a Drawing - perhaps you will send a parcel for me to Mr Wilson's as soon as you get this. Should you be at Peterborough when I pass through I will stop there and go on by the next coach. Mr Turner wishes sadly (?) that his prints may be forwarded.

I believe I have now finished my Chapter, so remain yours very respectfully

William Henry Bartlett

P.S. Can you be so good as to send some paper in the Lincoln parcel - & to forward the enclosed notes as my large trunk is very cumbersome ? And I shall not want it anymore. I will send it by wagon or canal boat to Burton Street. (Britton's House in London).

2. Letter from W. H. Bartlett to John Britton (undated).

Edinburgh University Library, Laing II, 426/35.

My Dear Sir

Will you submit the enclosed drawings to Messrs.Fishers for remarks if they have any to which I will punctually attend.

The two new ones do not want any figures or only such (if any) as I can myself put in. Can you do me the favor (sic) to lend me (for one night only) Brockedon's Paper of the Alps - and also a woodcut or sketch of the *Moat and Walls of Wells Palace* * which is published. I thought it was in the catalogue which I return with thanks.

I can only say if you have anything for me to do I shall receive it thankfully, as well as your recommendation & remain

Yours most sincerely

W.H. Bartlett

* *Walls and Moat, Bishops Palace, Wells* appears as a woodcut in John Britton's *Picturesque Antiquities of English Cities* published 1828-30 and drawn by Bartlett and engraved by Branston & Wright.

3. Letter from John Carne to W.H. Bartlett.

British Library, Add. Ms.50143 G. folio 34-35.

Extract of a letter from John Carne, author of *Letters from the East* (1830) and *Syria, the Holy Land, Asia Minor Illustrated* (Fisher, 1836-38)

Dated 14 April, 1837. Carne writes from Penzance and gives Bartlett's address as 11 Bartholomew Place, Kentish Town, and in pencil 43 College Street, Camden Town.

In the letter Carne requires views of Palestine and indicates that he has travelled with Bartlett before. He is worried about 'the completion of the Asian Views by those of the Land of Promise' of which 'no good or beautiful series has yet been published'. He worries about Bartlett's absence and that Bartlett's 'engagements of the American Views detain you three and a half months' and that 'our Syrian work must come to a standstill ... for want of Palestine material' and that 'the interest of the Subscribers can continue beyond Volume 2 without the Judean Views' but that the 3rd Volume must absolutely begin with them. He asks Bartlett to call on Messrs. Fisher as to the price and the number of views etc., and pleads with Bartlett : 'you are the strong anchor of my work, - do not desert it in the time of need'.

4. Letter from W.H. Bartlett to Dr. William Beattie re. prospective work on France.

William Beattie Collection, Holborn Local Studies Centre, ST2/1B/27, Box of MSS (A/47).

Bartlett's address: 37 High Street, Camden Town

Undated but watermark is for 1837

My Dear Sir,

I have made further enquiry of our friend Virtue as to the date of publication of *France* and I do not think it will be before July or August, although I shall probably be making corrections in the spring.

Although I regret this very much I do not see at all the least chance of its being otherwise for the reason which I mentioned when I last saw you. Mr Virtue speaks of his engagement with you as perfectly understood and binding but does not intend to begin publishing until the time I have mentioned. I hope then that we shall go on together in perfect harmony and I shall be very glad as soon as I clearly understand the plan - i.e. whether to divide the work into Chapters on the Ancient Provinces - or to make a 'Voyage Pittoresque' on the plan mentioned

- if the latter - the sooner I lay down the exact route the better. Whenever I go to Paris I can contrive to take in a considerable district in my way.

I am going into Scotland next week for a few days to add some more localities to the *Life of Burns* but I shall hope to see you within a fortnight.

Believe me ever my dear Sir, yours respectfully

W.H. Bartlett

P.S. I should like - by way to Paris via Holland to include all the country around - Strasbourg via Nancy, Metz and Rheims to Lille & Amiens.

5. Letter from W.H. Bartlett to Dr William Beattie.

William Beattie Collection, Holborn Local Studies Centre, ST2/1B/27, Box of Mss (A/47).

Inscribed (from) Mr Bartlett, May 1840 (Friday night)

My Dear Doctor,

I conveyed your respects to Miss Pardoe who will be out of town until Wednesday next, perhaps a day or two later, after that time she will be happy to see you.

I seriously believe that you have misunderstood Virtue as regards *Sicily*. I have spoken since I saw you about it and it appears to me that he will really undertake it though not immediately.

He is anxious to wait until No. 3 of *Ireland* has appeared when he will be better able to decide from the success of that work and if it does succeed it will induce him probably to proceed with spirit in anything else.

I can only hope most fervently that we shall succeed in overcoming present difficulties I think in attaining our objects.

6. Extract of a Letter from W.H. Bartlett to Dr William Beattie (undated).

William Beattie Collection, Holborn Local Studies Centre, ST2/1B/27, Box of Mss (A/47).

Dear Sir

I have obtained the *Handbook to Southern Germany* which notices most of the subject of any consequence down the Danube from Ulm to the Black Sea.

... the most interesting part of the River is decidedly below Passau and I think of proceeding at once to Ratisbon and hence descending perhaps to Buda, but hopefully not below Vienna...

As Virtue wishes to select some subjects for cuts could you favour me with the list of subjects as the sketches will stand in your description because those first wanted must be of course put in hand first.

My present journey differs in the respect from any I have hitherto undertaken i.e. that it is at Virtue's own cost. This will of course prevent me from doing anything else unless previously arranged with him.

7. Extract of a Letter from Bartlett to Dr William Beattie.

William Beattie Collection, Holborn Local Studies Centre, ST2/1B/27, Box of Mss (A/47).

Commencement of *Switzerland Illustrated*, dated Lausanne, March 21, 1832

Bartlett proposes a route: 'I have so arranged to omit nothing of popular interest though I must necessarily pass by extensive portions of the country altogether. I propose leaving the Lake of Geneva, which I am just about to do, to proceed to Fribourg, Berne, Thun, the Valleys of Lauterbrun (sic) and Grindelwald from thence to Lucerne and the Lake of Zurich, Wallenstadt... over the Bernardsins to Lugano, Lac Majeur returning probably by Saint Gotthard, the Haut Valais, the Simplon and Chamonix to Geneva. This arrangement will concentrate I hope almost everything that is of surpassing interest in Switzerland and if circumstances be favourable I am persuaded our collection will prove characteristic of her sublime scenery. I have not been able to assure myself of this route until my last letter from Mr Virtue who manifests every readiness to promote the interest of the Work.

In my last letter to him I enquired if he had yet seen you and if the Prospectus was agreed on - he stated he had not but would call on you as soon as he received some Drawings from me - This route will not be just yet, as I am anxious to obtain some striking subjects for the first number. You will observe that I have not named Schaffhausen, the truth is it lies so far from my line of route that I must obtain a sketch of it from an English Portfolio on my return. This I regret, as well as that I cannot visit every part of Switzerland. But of this my funds will not allow, and by so doing the character of the work in a pictorial point of view, would perhaps, hardly be improved - as I perceive from the map, that large districts are, comparatively speaking devoid of interest. You will be rather surprised when I tell you that I have only been three weeks at Lausanne and the chief part of the time (?) at Paris and Geneva. At Paris I remained a month and then proceeded to Geneva being desirous to see the Juras although in frost and snow. I was really delighted and never shall forget my first impression of Switzerland received from the descent of the mountain above Gex. It went far beyond my anticipation and I am convinced that no subsequent enjoyment will be greater than that which accompanied my first view of Mont Blanc. But my admiration of this scene was the cause of a month's illness... I walked briskly to Gex, when ascending the mountain a fog came over the scene and after waiting some time in the snow in vain I returned by the coach - a few days after I was in a high fever and delirious (his wife, who was with him, nursed him back to health).

I am most pleased with the Lac Lemman although of too extended a cast to be strikingly picturesque. The eastern part of the Lake including Vevey, Chillon and Meillesic (?) appears very beautiful. From our apartments at Lausanne we have an uninterrupted view of the whole expanse from Villeneuve to Fort L'Ecluse. I am out of doors the chief portion of my time... I

can only hope that we shall be fortunate in the Engraving - Knowing how Mr Virtue is beset by a large connection I confess I am not a little apprehensive.

8. Extract of a Letter from W.H. Bartlett to Dr William Beattie.

William Beattie Collection, Holborn Local Studies Centre, ST2/1B/27, Box of Mss (A/47).

Bartlett arrived in Constantinople on 1st October 1837. Dr William Beattie had given him introductions e.g. to the Austrian Ambassador and he writes Dr Beattie a letter on 3 October 1837 from Chez Mme Battiani, Pera, Constantinople.

Constantinople - a vast phantasmagoria - very much like a moving diorama full of scenes from fairy tales but it is impossible for the pencil to express its beauties as they are scattered about in a manner very puzzling to the artist - and how to express the oriental light, which without the accident of light and shade usual in the north, is sufficient to produce the most brilliant relief combined with a softness of harmony equally beautiful. I fear one can only give the mere form of the objects received but with that beautiful lustre with which in the East they are always invested.

In regard to my part of the literary matter it must be purely descriptive and very brief - much historical information respecting the foundation of the Together with a great deal of other matter may be gathered from a work *Promenades Pittoresques Constantinople* by Pertusier, an attaché of the French Legation, published somewhere in rue de Seine, Paris. The style is bad but the matter very useful. A work of Dr Hammer is ... but I have not seen it - of course I need not mention those recent works which you will have seen especially Miss Pardoe's (probably Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan; and domestic manners of the Turks* published by Henry Colburn, London, 1837) - which latter must be read with caution from what I hear.... I do not know whether I shall send home any Drawings, am anxiously looking for advices from Mr Virtue.... Shall ... go into Asia for a month and am afraid the weather, unless it changes shortly, will be a great drawback. Very stormy... miserable hole called Pera ... where we are without carpets... the windows rattling so that we cannot sleep and the wretched lanes all but impassable with dirt... Letters to be sent on to Smyrna via the Consul in ten weeks' time. Bartlett ends his letter by sending his regards to Lady Blessington and to Mrs Beattie and Mrs Childs.

9. Extract of a Letter from W.H. Bartlett to Dr William Beattie.

William Beattie Collection, Holborn Local Studies Centre, ST2/1B/27, Box of Mss (A/47).

Commencement of the *Waldenses Illustrated* or Protestant Valleys of Piedmont and Dauphiny.

Martigny, June 6, 1835

'It may be best to commence at Grenoble and pass by the Val Romanche to La Grave which I was not able to visit but which is well described in Brockedon's *Pass of Mt Genevse*. I have little doubt that Gentleman will have the goodness to give us a view of La Grave or Val

Romanche. If necessary then descend to Briançon of which I have 2 or 3 points view the approach from M. Genevre'...

APPENDIX 2

Select List of the Annuals.

Rudolph Ackermann:

Forget-Me-Not (1823-47)

First published October 1822 for the Christmas market and dated 1823. Copper-plates then steel-plates from 1825.

Charles Heath Publications:

Keepsake (1828-57), published by Hurst Chance 1828-31, Longmans 1832-47, David Bogue 1848-57. Edited by the Countess of Blessington 1841-49. In all J. M. W. Turner had 17 designs published.

Amulet (1826-36), published W. Baynes & Son, Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis. Edited by Samuel Carter Hall 1825-36.

Bijou (1828-30).

Friendship's Offering (1824-44), published by Lupton Relfe 1824-27, Smith Elder & Co. 1828-33.

Heath's Book of Beauty (1833-49), edited by the Countess of Blessington 1842-47, published by Longman, Rees, Orme, Green and Longman.

Portrait of the Children of the Nobility (1841), edited by Mrs Fairlie, drawings by Alfred Chalon R. A., (copper engravings) published by Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.

New Years' Gift (1829-36), edited Mrs Alaric Watts, published Longman, Brown, Green and Longman.

Heath's Picturesque Annual (1832-45):

1832 *Travelling sketches in the north of Italy, the Tyrol and on the Rhine*, Clarkson Stanfield illustrator, edited Leitch Ritchie, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.

1833 *Travelling sketches on the Rhine, and in Belgium and Holland*, Clarkson Stanfield, illustrator, edited Leitch Ritchie, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.

1834 *Travelling sketches on the sea coasts of France*, Clarkson Stanfield, edited , Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.

1835 *Scott and Scotland*, George Cattermole illustrator, edited Leitch Ritchie, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.

1836 *A journey to St Petersburg and Moscow through Courland and Livnia*, A. J. Vickers, edited Leitch Ritchie, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.

1837 *Ireland picturesque and romantic*, edited Leitch Ritchie, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.

- 1838 *Ireland picturesque and romantic*, edited Leitch Ritchie, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.
- 1839 *Versailles*, edited Leitch Ritchie, W.Callow, F.Mackenzie, F.J. Collignon and C. Aubry illustrators, Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans.
- 1840 *Windsor Castle and its environs*, edited Leitch Ritchie, Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.
- 1841 *Belgium*, 16 plates after Thomas Allom, edited Thomas Roscoe, Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.
- 1842 *Paris in 1841*, 16 plates after Thomas Allom, edited Mrs Gore, Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.
- 1843 *The American in Paris*, Eugen Lami illustrator, edited Jules Janin, Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.
- 1844 *Winter in Paris*, edited Jules Janin, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.
- 1845 *The Great Civil War of Charles I*, Richard Cattermole, Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.

Turner's Annual Tour:

- 1833 *Wanderings by the Loire or Seine*, by Leitch Ritchie, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.
 - 1834 *The Seine*, by Leitch Ritchie, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.
 - 1835 *The Seine*, by Leitch Ritchie, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman.
- There is some confusion over the title as the three volume series was advertised as *Turner's Annual Tour* but came out as *Wanderings by the Loire or Seine* by Leitch Ritchie. Later it was issued as a single volume under the title *Rivers of France* in 1837.

Jennings and Chaplin:

- 1831 *Remembrance*, edited Thomas Roscoe, 13 plates, one after Turner, one after Brockedon and two after Bartlett.

Jennings' Landscape Annual (1830-39):

- 1830 *Tourist in Switzerland and Italy*, Samuel Prout illustrator, edited Thomas Roscoe, published Robert Jennings and Co.
- 1831 *Tourist in Italy*, Samuel Prout and James Duffield Harding illustrators, edited Thomas Roscoe, published Robert Jennings.
- 1832 *Tourist in Italy*, Prout and Harding illustrators, edited Thomas Roscoe, published Robert Jennings and Co.
- 1833 *Tourist in Italy*, Prout and Harding illustrators, edited Thomas Roscoe, published Robert Jennings and Co.
- 1834 *Tourist in France*, James Duffield Harding illustrator, edited Thomas Roscoe, published Robert Jennings and Co.
- 1835 *Tourist in Spain - Granada*, David Roberts illustrator, edited Thomas Roscoe, published Robert Jennings and Co.
- 1836 *Tourist in Spain - Andalusia*, David Roberts illustrator, edited Thomas Roscoe, published Robert Jennings and Co.
- 1837 *Tourist in Spain – Biscay and the Castiles*, David Roberts illustrator, edited Thomas Roscoe, published Jennings and Chaplin.
- 1838 *Tourist in Spain and Morocco*, David Roberts illustrator, edited Thomas Roscoe, published Jennings and Chaplin.

1839 *Tourist in Portugal*, from paintings by James Holland, edited W. H. Harrison, published Jennings and Chaplin.

Fisher, Son and Co. Publications:

Drawing Room Scrap Book (1832-52): see separate listings under oeuvre of Allom (Appendix 3) and Bartlett (Appendix 1).

The Landscape Souvenir (1837-38):

1838: Second series of 45 Views of Cities and Scenery in Italy, Switzerland and France; from drawings by Prout and Harding; with descriptions, in English and French, by Thomas Roscoe.

Gage d'Amitié (1834-41):

The first volume, dated 1833 but published 1834, *Gage d'Amitié. The Northern Tourist* was the first volume of three and contained seventy three views of Lake and Mountain Scenery etc., taken from *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated* by Thomas Rose (London, 1832). The first volume has an engraved title and 72 views on 36 plates. (Eventually there were 216 Plates in three volumes).

French edition: *Gage d'Amitié. Itinéraire Pittoresque, au Nord de L'Angleterre contenant soixante treize vues des lacs, des montagnes, des chateaux &c., des comtés de Westmorland, Durham et Northumberland; accompagnés de notices historiques et topographiques en français, en anglais et en allemand. Le texte Français rédigé par J. F. Gérard, M. A.*

Londres: H. Fisher, R. Fisher, et P. Jackson, chez A. & W. Galignani, Rittner & Goupil, à Paris; Pratt, Bruxelles; Asher à Berlin et à Petersburg (1834).

Gage d'Amitié 1838: The Midland Counties' Tourist; uniform with, and forming the 4th and last volume of *The Northern Tourist* series. Seventy three views of Castles, Cities, Towns, Scenery etc in the Counties of Derby, Chester, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham and Rutland. From original drawings on the spot by Thomas Allom.

Easter Gift (c.1832-1843) edited L.E.L.

The Missionary Annual 1833 edited Rev. William Ellis.

Christian Keepsake and Missionary (1835-38) edited Rev. William Ellis.

Juvenile Scrap Book (1836-50) edited Mrs Ellis (1840-48).

Fisher's National Portrait Gallery (1830-33) edited William Jerden.

Fisher's Oriental Keepsake (1837-39).

Waverley Forget-Me-Not (1838) edited G. N. Wright.

First series of *Scotland and Scott Illustrated*; from original Landscape-Historical Drawings by J.M.W. Turner, R.A. etc, and additional Illustrations by George Cruikshank. 46 Plates. (Eventually there were 108 Plates in two volumes).

Smith, Elder & Co:

The Continental Annual and Romantic Cabinet, with illustrations by Samuel Prout, edited by William Kennedy, published by Smith, Elder & Co. (London, 1832). 13 Plates.

List of Plates, engraved under the superintendence of E.I. Roberts:

Cathedral Tower, Antwerp, Engraved W. Floyd. Frontispiece.

Roman Column at Igel, near Treves. S. Fisher. Vignette.

Hotel de Ville at Brussels. E.I. Roberts, p.10.

View in Ghent. J.H. Kernot, p. 27.

View in Nuremberg. E.I. Roberts, p. 44.

View in Metz. T. Barber, p. 62.

The Porta Nigra, Treves. E.I. Roberts, p.100.

City and Bridge of Dresden. J.T. Willmore, p.142.

Port and Lake of Como. T. Barber, p.181.

Place of St.Antonio, Padua. E.I. Roberts, p.189.

City and Bridge of Prague. J. Le Keux, p. 210.

Rouen Cathedral. W. Wallis, p. 264.

Church of St. Pierre at Caen. J. Carter, p. 304.

Charles Tilt:

The Orientalist or *The Oriental Annual*, containing a series of tales, legends and historical romances by Thomas Bacon, with engravings by W. and E. Finden from sketches by the author and Captain Meadows Taylor. (London 1839-40). The 1842 edition contains 18 plates: four engravings after David Roberts, three after Clarkson Stanfield, two after T. Creswick, eight after T.C. Dibdin and one after H. Warren. The 1842 edition published by Thomas Arnold, Paternoster Row, London. From 1834-36 *The Oriental Annual or Scenes in India* (London, E. Bull). 1837: *The Oriental Annual Lives of the Mughal Emperors* by Rev. Hobart Caunter, engravings by William Daniell.

Hurst, Robinson & Co

The Literary Souvenir (1825-35) edited by Alaric Watts.

George Virtue

The Scenic Annual (1838), edited by Thomas Campbell.

French Keepsakes

They include:

Album Britannique (1830) with 12 'vignettes' by H. Le Keux, Dean, E. Finden, Edwards, Goodyear, Goodall, Cosimo Armstrong, Greatbach, Rolls and H. Robinson.

Album de la Syrie et de L'Egypte (1841) with 40 'vignettes' engraved in London.

Album Venetien (1840) with 11 English steel engraved plates by T. Goodman, W. J. Edwards, W.H. Mote, H. Robinson and W.H. Egleton.

L'Amaranthe (1839) with 10 English steel 'vignettes' by Adcock, H. Rolls, C. Rolls, Bacon, Scriven, W.H. Simmons, Stocks, Holl, Davenport and B. P. Gibbon.

L'Amulette (1834) with 8 'vignettes' by Outrim, Greatbach, Baker after Uwins, Rogers, Lewis etc.

Auvergne et Provence, Album Pittoresque, (1833) with 26 steel engravings by James B. Allen, J. Fisher, J. C. Varrall, J. H. Kernot, Freebairn, J. Cousen, W. Radclyffe, T. Higham, W. R. Smith, J. Carter, E. Challis, J. T. Willmore after J. D. Harding.

Beauties de Lord Byron (1838).

Beauties de Walter Scott (1852).

Les Bleuets (1847) one plate after W. H. Bartlett.

Le Brick, Album de Mer, Scènes de la Vie Maritime (1836) with 5 'vignettes' by H. Robinson, R. Brandard, H. Griffiths, J. Cousen, J. T. Willmore after Turner.

Le Keepsake Français (1831).

APPENDIX 3

I. Select Bibliography of Books containing steel engraved plates mostly after designs by Thomas Allom.

There are probably 972 designs on steel engraved plates after Allom. It is difficult to make an exact count as some publications have two views on the same plate (such as *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated* and *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated*), also many plates were reissued in several different publications, often long after Allom ceased his collaboration with the publishers of topographical illustrations. The first twenty seven titles were published however during Allom's productive period between 1829 and 1844.

1. *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated*

John Britton and Edward Wedlake Brayley

H. Fisher, R. Fisher & P. Jackson (London, 1831)

119 plates after Allom

Engraved section title for Devonshire dated 1829 75 plates by Allom

Engraved section title for Cornwall dated 1831 All 44 plates by Allom.

Advert on the back of part number 15 of *Fishers' Views in Devonshire and Cornwall forming part of the general series of Fishers' Grand National Improvements and Jones' Great Britain Illustrated*: Works of the Fine Arts, publishing monthly by Fisher, Son & Co. Newgate Street; and sold by C. Tilt, Fleet Street. Uniform with *Westall's Great Britain Illustrated*.

Dates of plates: part issue number 14 has date of 1830 for *Torridge Canal, and Rolle Aqueduct, near Torrington, Devonshire and Castle Hill, near South Molton, Devonshire* (in Holloway these are numbered 31 & 32). Part issues contained 4 plates with two of Devonshire and two of Cornwall. The back of part issue number 14 has critical notices dated September 8 and September 11, 1830 so I can only assume that Diana Brooks' dating of *Devonshire Illustrated* to 1829 is from the beginning of part publication and not of the completed volume.

2. *Lancashire Illustrated*

W.H. Pyne, D. Wylie and others

From original Drawings by Austin etc.

H. Fisher, Son & Jackson (London, 1831)

112 Engravings with 9 plates after Allom.

3. *Polynesian Researches*

William Ellis

Fisher, Son & Jackson (London, 1831)

There are no plates after Allom.

4. *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland Illustrated*

Thomas Rose

H. Fisher, R. Fisher and P. Jackson (London, 1832-35).

German edition: *Wanderungen im Norden von England mit Ansichten der Landsee- und Gebirg-Gegenden der Grafschaften Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham und Northumberland*. Asher (Berlin, 1834).
188 plates after Allom.

5. *Views in the Tyrol* from drawings by T. Allom after original sketches by Johanna von Isser (1802-1880).

The anonymous author was actually Baron Josef von Hormayr, mentioned here 'with letterpress descriptions by a companion of Hofer'.

Charles Tilt (London, 1833)

46 plates

There are five other editions:

Black and Armstrong (London, 1836) price £1.11s.6d. This edition keeps to Tilt's order of engravings but corrects 14 names which had been misspelt .

Black and Armstrong (London, 1840)

Tombleson (London, 1836) order of engravings different from Tilt.

German edition: Tombleson (London, 1840)

French edition: Tombleson (London, 1840).

6. *Views in India, China and on the Shores of the Red Sea*

Emma Roberts and Captain Robert Elliot

H. Fisher, R. Fisher & P. Jackson (London, 1835)

60 Plates

French edition: *Vues Pittoresques de L'Inde, de la Chine et des bords de la Mer Rouge*

One plate after Allom: Tomb of Ibrahim Padshah, Bejapore (T.Allom, T. Higham dated 1832)

Previously published as *Views in the East; comprising India, Canton and the Shores of the Red Sea*, by Captain Robert Elliot, published by H. Fisher, Son & Co (London, 1833) 2 vols.

The same plates as above.

7. *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain*

Edward Baines

H. Fisher, R. Fisher & P. Jackson (London, 1835)

5 plates after Allom.

8. *History of the County Palatinate and Duchy of Lancaster*

Edward Baines

Fisher, Son & Co (London, Paris and New York, 1836)

33 plates after Allom some previously used in nos. 2 and 7.

9. *Chester, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham and Rutland Illustrated*

T. Noble and T. Rose

Fisher, Son & Co (London, Paris and New York, 1836)

73 plates after Allom

French edition by Alexandre Sosson: *Gage d'Amitié. Itinéraire pittoresque aux comtés de Chester, de Derby, de Leicester, de Lincoln, de Nottingham et de Rutland* (Paris, c.1837-38).

10. *The Life and Reign of William the Fourth*

Rev. G. N. Wright

Fisher, Son & Co (London and Paris, 1837)

1 plate after Allom

Queen Adelaide's Lodge, Bushy Park, drawn by T. Allom, engraved by W. Taylor.

11. *Views in India, chiefly among the Himalaya Mountains*

Edited Emma Roberts and Lieutenant George Francis White, of the 31st Regt. &c.
Fisher, Son & Co (London and Paris, 1838)

5 plates after Allom:

Crossing by a Sangha, near Jumnootree, p.54. T. Allom, J.C. Bentley

View near the Source of the Jumna, p.59. T. Allom, J. H. Kernot

Gungootree, The Sacred Source of the Ganges, p.60. T. Allom, J. H. Kernot

Village of Khandoo, on the Choor Mountain, p.67. T. Allom, H. Adlard

Village of Koghera and Deodar Forest, p.70. T. Allom, W. Floyd.

12. *Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor Illustrated*

John Carne

Fisher, Son & Co (London and Paris, 1838)

French edition: *La Syrie. La Terre- Sainte, L'Asie Mineure, etc. illustrées*

9 plates after Allom in volume three:

Plain of the Jordan, looking towards the Dead Sea, no.69. T. Allom, S. Fisher

Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, no.72. T. Allom, H. Griffith

The Monastery of Santa Saba, no.74. T. Allom, S. Bradshaw

Lake of Tiberias, or Sea of Galilee, no.77. T. Allom, W. Floyd

Entrance to the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, no.79. T. Allom, J. Redaway

(Tomb of) Absalom, near Jerusalem, no. 81. T. Allom, E. Radclyffe

Chapel at Bethlehem, no. 83. T. Allom, W. Radclyffe

Bethany, no.90. T. Allom, H. Adlard

Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, no.94. T. Allom, S. Fisher.

13. *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated*

Rev. Robert Walsh

Fisher, Son & Co (London and Paris, 1838-40)

80 plates after Allom

advertised as part of *Fisher's Turkish Empire Illustrated*

French edition: *Constantinople Ancienne et Moderne*

Léon Gallibert et Clément Pellé, collaborateurs de la Revue Britannique

Title page in English: *Fisher's illustrations of Constantinople and its environs*

Title page in French: *L'Empire Ottoman Illustré*

German edition: *Constantinopel und die malerische Gegend der sieben Kirchen in Kleinasien.*

Nach der Natur gezeichnet von Thomas Allom. Nebst einer kurzen Geschichte Constantinopels und Erklärung der Stahlstiche von Robert Walsh, Georg Westermann (no town given, 1841)

and re-published Braunschweig, Hartung (Leipzig, 1854)

Italian edition by Alessandro Fontana and Guiseppe Pomba (Turin, no date given).

14. *Scotland Illustrated*

William Beattie

George Virtue, 26 Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row (London, 1838-40)

90 plates after Allom. Plates dated from 1836-40

German edition by John von Horn

French edition by L. de Baucelas.

The Poems, Letters and Land of Robert Burns

Allan Cunningham

George Virtue (London, 1838-40), other editions 1842

Illustrated by W.H. Bartlett, T. Allom and other artists.

1 plate after Allom: no.29 *Corra Lynn, on the Clyde*, T.Allom, J. B. Allen dated 1839 previously used in Beattie's *Scotland Illustrated* no.59.

15 *Scotland and Scott Illustrated*

G. N. Wright

Fisher, Son & Co (London, 1836-38)

108 Engravings from original drawings by Turner, Maclise, G. Cruikshank, Linnell, Allom, Balmer, Davis etc.

2 Quarto Volumes handsomely bound Price £2. 6 shillings

French edition: (possibly) *Nouvelles illustrations anglaises des romans de Sir Walter Scott, Bart* translated by Clément Pellé (Unsourced) This may be a variant of number 15.

An alternative version was titled *Landscape-Historical Illustrations of Scotland and the Waverley Novels*

G. N. Wright

Fisher, (London, 1836-38)

108 Engravings by Turner, Balmer, Bentley, Chisolm, Hart, Harding, Maclise, Melville etc, etc.

2 volumes

French edition: *Paysages historiques et illustrations de L'Ecosse et des romans de Walter Scott* translated by Alexandre Sosson

4 Plates after Allom all dated 1838:

The Rescue of Ivanhoe, T. Allom, R. Staines

Kenilworth Castle, T. Allom, W. Floyd

The Mock Battle, T. Allom, T.A. Prior

Louis of France and the Count of Crevecoeur, T. Allom, G. Presbury.

16. *Heath's Picturesque Annual 1840: Windsor Castle and its environs*

Leitch Ritchie

Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, London; Appleton & Co, New York; and Fisher and Co, Paris. 1840.

2 plates after Allom:

St George's Hall. T.Allom, W. Wallis

The Waterloo Gallery. T. Allom, J. H. Le Keux.

17. *Heath's Picturesque Annual 1841: Belgium in a Picturesque Tour*

Thomas Roscoe

Longman, Brown, Green and Longman. 1841

16 plates after Allom.

18. *Family Secrets or hints to those who would make home happy*

Sara Stickney Ellis

Fisher, Son & Co (London, 1841)

26 plates after Allom.

19. *A topographical History of Surrey*

Edward Wedlake Brayley
Tilt and Bogue (London, 1841-48)
90 plates after Allom.

20. *The Daughters of England; their position in society, character etc.*
Sara Stickney Ellis
Fisher, Son & Co (London, 1842)
2 plates after Allom.

21. *The Shores and Islands of the Mediterranean*
Rev. G. N. Wright
Fisher, Son & Co (London and Paris, c.1840) (from map dated 1840)
6 plates after Allom:
Interior of a Moorish Palace, Algiers. T. Allom, E. Challis
Corfu. T. Allom, W. Floyd
Burj-Er-Roos, - or The Tower of Skulls. T. Allom, E. Benjamin
Neftah, the ancient Negeta, Beylik of Tunis. T. Allom, T. Higham
Bazaar of the Fig Tree, Algiers. T. Allom, T. A. Prior
El Kaf, the ancient Sicca Veneria. T. Allom, E. Challis.

French version: *Les Iles et les Bords de la Méditerranée comprenant La Sicile et La Cote de Barbarie etc.*
Clément Pellé
Fisher, Fils et Cie, 38 Newgate Street, Londres ; A Paris, 108 Rue Saint Honoré. c.1840.

22. *The Rhine Illustrated: The Rhine, Italy and Greece in a series of drawings from nature by Colonel Cockburn, Major Irton, Messrs. Bartlett, Leitch and Wolfensberger.*
Rev. G. N. Wright
Fisher, Son & Co (London and Paris, 1841-43)
1 plate after Allom in volume II (1843):
Court of the Old Palace, Florence. T. Allom, J. Tingle

23. *Heath's Picturesque Annual Paris in 1841*
Mrs Gore
Longman, Brown, Green and Longman. 1842
21 plates, 18 after Allom and 3 after Eugene Lami.

24. *Lancashire: its History, Legends and Manufactures*
Rev. G. N. Wright
Fisher, Son & Co, London; Post Office Place, Liverpool, and 93 Piccadilly, Manchester. 1843
12 plates after Allom previously used in nos. 2, 7 and 8.

25. *The Wives of England; their relative duties, domestic influence and social obligations.*
Sara Stickney Ellis
Fisher, Son & Co (London, 1843)
1 plate after Allom previously used.
An American edition of *The Prose Works of Mrs Ellis* was published by Henry G. Langley, 8 Astor House, New York , 1844-45 which includes the illustrations to *The Women of England, The Daughters of England, The Wives of England and The Mothers of England.* Volume II includes *The Poetry of Life* and *Pictures of Private Life.*

26. *China, in a series of views , displaying the scenery, architecture and social habits of that ancient Empire*

Rev. G. N. Wright

Fisher, Son & Co (London, 1843)

French edition: *L'Empire Chinoise d'après des dessins pris sur les lieux (sic) . Avec les descriptions des moeurs, des coutumes, de l'architecture, de l'industrie, &c. du peuple chinois depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* Fisher, Son & Co. (London and Paris, 1845)

German edition: *China, historisch, romantisch ,malerisch etc.* Kunst-verlag (Karlsruhe, 1843-44)

Italian edition: *La China considerata nella sua storia ...* Luigi Bardi Editore (Milan, 1843-47)
124 plates after Allom.

27. *The Life and Times of Louis Philippe*

Rev. G. N. Wright

Fisher, Son & Co (London, 1838, enlarged and republished 1843 and 1844)

12 plates, with an appendix containing a *View of the Chateau d'Eu*.

28. *France Illustrated, exhibiting its Landscape scenery, antiquities, military and ecclesiastical architecture,etc.*

Rev. G. N. Wright

Fisher, Son & Co. The Caxton Press, Angel Street, St Martin's-Le-Grand, London; H. Mandeville , rue Neuve-Vivienne, Paris. 1844.

96 plates after Allom

Supplemental fourth volume comprising *A Summer and Winter in Paris* , drawings by Eugène Lami, descriptions by Jules Janin. 50 steel-engraved plates. Peter Jackson, late Fisher, Son & Co, The Caxton Press, Angel Street, St Martin's-Le-Grand, London; H. Mandeville, rue Neuve-Vivienne, Paris. 1844.

French version: *La France au XIXe Siècle, illustrée dans ses monuments et ses plus beaux sites, dessinés , d'après nature, par Thomas Allom.*

Charles-Jean Delille

Fisher, Fils et Co., rue Saint Honoré, Paris et à Londres. (3rd volume H. Mandeville, rue Neuve-Vivienne à Paris).

Reprints and Variants (usually after 1844) :

29. *The Castles and Abbeys of England*

William Beattie

George Virtue, 1844

2 plates after Allom previously used.

30. *Lancashire, its History, Legends and Manufactures*

Rev. G. N. Wright and T. Allen

Peter Jackson, Late Fisher, Son & Co. c.1848 (date in text p.126)

32 plates after Allom, previously used.

31. *Views in the Pyrenees*

French Title: *Album des Pyrénées*, chez Lafon, Libraire, rue Henri IV, Pau. c.1845

16 plates after Allom previously used in *France Illustrated*.

32. *Hindustan, its Landscapes, Palaces, Temples, Tombs; the shores of the Red Sea; and the sublime and romantic scenery of the Himalayan Mountains*

ed. Emma Roberts

Fisher, Son & Co c. 1845

6 plates after Allom previously used in no. 11.

33. *The People's Gallery of Engravings*

Rev. G. N. Wright

Fisher, Son & Co. c. 1845 (part published from 1844, price one shilling)

22 plates after Allom previously used.

34. *Kitto's Gallery of Scripture Engravings or Fisher's Gallery of Scripture Engravings*

John Kitto (1804-1854)

P. Jackson, Late Fisher, Son & Co. c.1849, some editions London, Fisher, Son & Co, the Caxton Press c.1846-47

Illustrations: historical and landscape from the best paintings of Raffaele, Rubens, Vandyke ...; the landscapes by Allom, Bartlett, Leitch, Bentley, Purser...

28 plates after Allom previously used.

35. *Westmorland its Lake and Mountain Scenery*

Thomas Rose

Peter Jackson, Late Fisher, Son & Co. c.1849

58 plates after Allom previously used.

36. *Cumberland its Lake and Mountain Scenery*

Thomas Rose

P. Jackson, Late Fisher, Son & Co. c.1849

47 plates after Allom previously used.

37. *Durham and Northumberland, their Lake and Mountain Scenery, etc, etc.*

Thomas Rose

P. Jackson, Late Fisher, Son & Co. c.1849

84 plates after Allom previously used.

38. *The British Switzerland; or picturesque Rambles in the English Lake District; comprising a series of views of the Lake and Mountain scenery in Westmorland, Cumberland, Lancashire, Durham and Northumberland: from drawings taken on the spot by Thomas Allom.*

Thomas Rose

The London Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd; 97, 98, 99 & 100 St John Street, London, & 1-55 Dey Street, New York. 1858

109 plates after Allom previously used.

39. *Lake and Mountain Scenery. Westmorland and Cumberland. From drawings on the spot by T. Allom and G. Pickering.*

London Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd. 1858

Sold by J. Atkinson and J. Robinson, Kendal; A. Nicholas, Ambleside; Bailey and Son, Keswick; T. Bailey, Cockermouth; A. Thurnham, Carlisle and all booksellers.

23 plates after Allom previously published.

40. *Chinese Empire Illustrated: being a series of views from original sketches...by Thomas Allom, Esq., displaying the scenery, architecture, social habits etc., of that ancient and exclusive nation.*

Rev. G. N. Wright

London Printing and Publishing Co., 1858-59

The number of plates varies from 148, 150 or 156 plates with 127 after Allom previously used.

41. *Europe Illustrated: Its picturesque Scenes and places of note...embellished with steel engravings by Turner, Allom, Bartlett, Leitch and other eminent artists. First series France, Belgium and the Rhine.*

John Sherer

London Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd, 26 Paternoster Row, London; and A. W. Gittens, 17 Park Place, New York. 1876

83 plates after Allom previously used.

42. *The Classic Lands of Europe*

John Sherer

London Publishing and Printing Co. Ltd. 1879

4 plates after Allom.

43. *Brayley's History of Surrey*

by W. E. (sic) Brayley, edited and revised by Edward Walford

J. S. Virtue and Co., 294 City Road, London. c. 1877

53 plates after Allom previously used.

44. *Belgium, The Rhine, Italy, Greece, The Shores and Islands of the Mediterranean and Constantinople with the Scenery of The Seven Churches of Asia Illustrated in a series of beautifully executed engravings by Thomas Allom Esq, Colonel Cockburn, Major Ireton, Major General Grenville Temple, Lieutenant Allen of the Royal Engineers and Messrs. Bartlett, Leitch etc.,.*

with historical, classical and picturesque descriptions by The Rev. G. N. Wright, I.F.A. Buckingham Esq and the Rev. Robert Walsh

Peter Jackson, Late Fisher, Son & Co, The Caxton Press, Angel Street, St. Martin's-Le-Grand, London. Not Dated, but post 1849, issued in part-work form and in either 2 volumes or 2 volumes in one.

153 plates but unsourced.

II. Annuals containing Steel Engraved plates after Allom : (181 plates)

Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book: (164 plates)

1832- 5 plates

1833- 7

1834- 7

1835- 10

1836- 6

1837- 5

1838- 3
1839- 5
1840-10
1841- 11
1842- 7
1843- 10
1844- 9
1845- 10
1846- 10
1847- 10
1848- 11
1849- 9
1850- 6
1851- 4
1852- 9

Juvenile Scrap Book: (12 plates)

1837- 1 plate
1838- 1
1839- 2
1840- 3
1843- 1
1845-3
1847-1

The Keepsake:

1848- 3 plates

Christian Keepsake and Missionary:

1838- 2 plates

1840 *Heath's Picturesque Annual - Windsor Castle and its environs*

edited L. Ritchie

Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1840

2 plates after Allom.

1841 *Heath's Picturesque Annual - Belgium in a Picturesque Tour*

edited Thomas Roscoe

Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1841

16 plates after Allom:

1. *Chapel of St Gudule, Brussels* (Frontispiece) - engraved T. Turnbull, (all plates by M'Queen) [Fig.169]
2. *Tower of La Halle with Linen Market, Bruges* (Title Vignette) - T. Goodman
3. *Palace of Justice, with fine carved chimney, Bruges* - W. Wallis, dated 1840, plate M'Queen mentioned
4. *Grand Canal with antique gothic house, Ghent* - J.B. Allen, dated Oct. 1, 1840
5. *Church of St Bavon (sic) (interior), Ghent* - Mottram
6. *Church of St Bevon, the Beffroi, & St Nicholas by Moonlight, Ghent* - W. Radclyffe, dated Oct 1, 1840

7. *Town Hall, with insurrection of the people against Charles V, Ghent* - J. Higham (sic), plate M'Queen, dated Oct 1, 1840
8. *Cathedral and Market Place, Mechlin* - J.H. Le Keux, plate M'Queen, dated Oct. 1, 1840
9. *Church of St Paul's (interior), Antwerp* - J.C. Varrell, dated Oct. 1, 1840
10. *West Front of Cathedral of Notre Dame, Antwerp* - E. Roberts, dated Oct. 1, 1840
11. *Chamber of Representatives, from the Park, Brussels* - Bradshaw, plate M'Queen, dated Oct. 1, 1840
12. *Church of St Gudule (interior), with celebrated carved pulpit* - Capone, dated Oct. 1, 1840
13. *Town of Dinant upon the Meuse* - M.J. Starling, dated Oct. 1, 1840
14. *The Tower of Crevecoeur upon the Meuse* - Prior, Oct. 1, 1840
15. *Church of St James (interior), Liege* - Deeble, Oct. 1, 1840
16. *Town Hall of Louvain with part of the Cathedral* - E. Radclyffe.

1842 *Heath's Picturesque Annual - Paris in 1841*

edited Mrs Gore

Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1842

21 plates with 18 after Allom, 3 after Eugene Lami.

1. Plate: <i>Exterior of La Madeleine</i> (Frontispiece)	T. Allom,	J.B. Allen	
2. Vignette: <i>Arc de L'Etoile</i> (Title)	T. Allom,	Prior	
3. Vignette: <i>Place Vendome</i>	T. Allom,	J.T. Willmore	p.11
4. Vignette: <i>Rue de Rivoli</i>	T. Allom,	Mottram	p.19
5. Vignette: <i>Arc du Carroussel</i>	T.Allom,	G. Goodman	p.41
6. Vignette: <i>Gallery of the Louvre</i>	T. Allom,	J.B. Allen	p.50
7. Plate: <i>Jardin du Palais Royal</i>	T. Allom,	R. Wallis	p.69
8. Plate: <i>Chambre des Pairs</i>	T. Allom,	W. Radclyffe	p. 76
9. Vignette: <i>Altar of St Roch</i>	T. Allom,	W. Radclyffe	p.80
10. Vignette: <i>Porte St Denis</i>	T. Allom,	R. Wallis	p.89
11. Plate: <i>Interior of La Madeleine</i>	T. Allom,	R. Wallis	p.108
12. Vignette: <i>Jardin des Plantes</i>	T. Allom,	unknown	p.133
13. Vignette: <i>St Germain L'Auxerrois</i>	T. Allom,	J.C. Varrall	p.142
14. Vignette: <i>View from Pont Royal</i>	T. Allom,	J.T. Willmore	p.147
15. Plate: <i>Chambre des Députés</i>	T. Allom,	W. Radclyffe	p.155
16. Vignette: <i>Fountain in Place Louis XV</i>	T. Allom,	J.C. Varrall	p.159
17. Vignette: <i>Fountain in the Rue Richelieu</i>	T. Allom,	J.C. Varrall	p.210
18. Vignette: <i>Café Estaminet</i>	T. Allom,	J.B. Allen	p. 217

Last 3 illustrations by Eugene Lami and engraved by R. Staines:

19. Vignette: *A soirée* p.246

20. Vignette: *Contract of Marriage* p.251

21. Vignette: *The Carnival* p.256.

III. Select Bibliography of Books containing Lithographs by Thomas Allom

1. Peter Frederick Robinson, *Designs for Farm Buildings and Village Architecture*, James Carpenter & Son (London, 1830) part publication, first seven numbers are *Designs for Farm*

Buildings and last five numbers are *Village Architecture*. Lithographs by Messrs. J. Scarlett Davis, J.D. Harding and T. Allom. (2 Lithographs by Allom after designs by Robinson). Source : *The Literary Gazette*, Saturday February 12, 1831, number 734 whilst reviewing numbers VII to XII.

2. Robert Wetten, *Designs for Villas in the Italian Style of Architecture*, James Carpenter & Son (London, 1830) 6 Lithographs by Allom after designs by Wetton.

3. Peter Frederick Robinson, *Designs for Gate Cottages, Park Lodges and Park Entrances*, Priestly and Wheale (London, 1833) (later editions by Henry Bohn) principally by Allom after designs by Robinson.

4. Peter Frederick Robinson, *Rural Architecture; or a series of designs for ornamental cottages*, (London, 1836) 14 Lithographs redrawn by Allom from J.D. Harding's original Lithographs after Robinson in earlier editions.

5. David Roberts, *Picturesque Sketches in Spain*, Hodgson & Graves (London, 1837) 3 Lithographs by Allom after Roberts. See Lot 71, Christie's, Tuesday May 23 1995 for sale of lithograph.

6. Peter Frederick Robinson, *Village Architecture*,... the landscapes drawn on stone by Scarlett Davis and T. Allom, 4th edition by Henry Bohn (London, 1837) 2 Lithographs by Allom after designs by Robinson.

7. Peter Frederick Robinson, *A new series of Designs for Ornamental Cottages and Villas*, Henry G. Bohn, 4 York Street, Covent Garden (London, 1838) 56 Plates. The landscapes drawn on stone by J.D. Harding and T.Allom. Printed by C. Hullmandel. With 6 Lithographs by Allom after designs by Robinson:

Design no. 1. Plate 4: *The Smithy -recently erected Prestwood, near Stourbridge in Worcestershire*

Design no.2. Plate 8: *The School House*

Design no.3. Plate 12: *The Gate Lodge*

Design no.4. Plate 16: *The Cottage*

Design no.5. Plate 20: *The Farmhouse*

Design no.6. Plate 24: *The Mill House*.

8. Emma Reeve, *Character and Costume of Turkey and Italy*, Fisher, Son & Co, (London, 1839) 21 Lithographs drawn on stone by Allom from his own sketches. Printed G. Hullmandel. The 8 Turkish plates are from the same designs after Allom used in Rev. Robert Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated*, Fisher, Son & Co (London, 1838-40) but the Lithographs are much finer and follow Allom's original work more closely.

Plates:

1. *The Sultan in his State Caique*

The favourite story-teller of Constantinople

3. *Peasant of Sora at the Shrine of the Virgin*

4. *Circassian slaves, Constantinople*

5. *The Bride of Albano*

6. *The Odalique, or Favorite (sic) of the harem, Constantinople* (original watercolour in the V&A Museum)

7. *Goatherds of the Campagna of Rome*
8. *The Brigand Family. Sonina*
9. *Procession of Asma Sultan, the Sultana, Constantinople*
10. *Trasteverini, and Game of Mora*
11. *Fisherman of Naples*
12. *The Slave Merchant, Constantinople*
13. *Pilgrims resting at the gate of a monastery*
14. *The Piferari, Rome*
15. *The Turkish Scribe*
16. *Festa at Sorrento*
17. *Ciocciari Girls*
18. *Halt of a Caravan. Scene between Sardis and Philadelphia. Asia Minor*
19. *Vintage of the Abruzzi*
20. *Monks of the Trinity, Rome*
21. *Albanians and Greek women of Smyrna.*

Other Lithographs:

9. *Sketches of the approved Designs of a Chapel and Gateway Entrances intended to be erected at Kensal Green for the General Cemetery Company*, published J. Williams (London, 1832) with Lithographs by Allom. Printed by Charles Joseph Hullmandel (1789-1850).

10. *Design for Cemetery at Plymouth*, spring of 1830: 'and at Plymouth another is on the eve of commencing, from the designs of Mr Allom, the entrance to which is formed of a well designed Gothic Chapel, with wings for the offices of the establishment... the London one (attempt for *Grand National Cemetery*) on the design of Mr Goodwin (there is a lithograph by Allom of Goodwin's *Grand National Cemetery* in the Sir John Soane Museum, drawer 59, set 2, no.29), that at Plymouth by his highly talented pupil (the one in Liverpool by Mr Foster). From *Arnold's Magazine of the Fine Arts*, May 1831, page 347.

11. *Ceremony of Opening London Bridge. Procession on the Bridge*. Drawn by Thomas Allom, Fisher, Son & Co (London, 1831) 'Messrs. Fishers were authorized to employ an artist to take a view of this gay and striking scene. Admitted to a favourable position for this purpose on the bridge, we learn that Mr T. Allom is preparing a beautiful Lithographic print for publication, and that it will be ready for delivery early in the ensuing week'. Source: *The Literary Gazette*, 1831, page 526. 'This print affords a true and lively idea of the gay scene which presented itself upon the new bridge when the royal party promenaded it. Though on so small a scale, the likenesses of the principal personages are well preserved; and the tout ensemble is at once accurate and pleasing'. Source: *The Literary Gazette*, 1831 p. 540.

12. Lady Francis Egerton, *Journal of a Tour in the Holy Land, in May and June 1840*, (London, 1841). Four Lithographs by Allom after drawings by Lord Egerton. For private circulation. Printed by Hullmandel. Source: *Bernard Shapero Rare Books Catalogue 2002* p.130 : 'Lord and Lady Egerton travelled in the Mediterranean in the winter and spring of 1839-40. These extracts from Lady Egerton's diary were intended for friends and were published to benefit the Ladies' Hibernian Female School Society'.

13. New Zealand Lithographs by Allom from views by Charles Heaphy (1820-81) appointed artist and draughtsman to the New Zealand Company during Colonel William Wakefield's Survey 1839, unsourced as a book but c. 1842. However I list the following images from

websearch www.discover.natlib.govt.nz and www.gac.culture.gov.uk. Also see Celia Walker, *Tracking Heaphy: Travels in the New Zealand Landscape*, for illustrations, unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 2009.

i) *Part of Lambton Harbour in Port Nicholson* (14 x 20.5 inches) Drawn in April 1841 by Chas. Heaphy, draughtsman to the New Zealand Company. Printed by C. Hullmandel. T. Allom lithog. Published for the New Zealand Company by Smith Elder & Co, Cornhill. (illustrated in Ian Mackenzie, *British Prints: Dictionary and Price Guide*, Antique Collectors Club (Woodbridge, 1987) p. 30).

ii) *Mount Egremont from the north shore of Cooke's strait, New Zealand, natives burning off wood for potato grounds* (preparatory watercolour study) was sold Christie's, 6 June, 1996 (Lot 106). The Lithograph was published for the New Zealand Company by Smith Elder & Co, Cornhill and Printed by C. Hullmandel (London, 1842). See F.M. and D.G. Ellis, *Early Prints of New Zealand 1642-1876* (Christchurch, 1987) pp 89-95. The Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Heaphy Papers, Wellington, New Zealand has Heaphy's original ink drawings including *View in the Nelson district, 1841* (C.025-004) and E.J. Wakefield's *Adventures in New Zealand with a coloured Lithograph 2 part Panorama of :*
iii) *The level country at the South end, looking north of Blind Bay* (Plate VIII, f.919.31.WAK) said to be Lithographed by Allom and inscribed drawn by Chas. Heaphy, London Smith Elder & Co, Cornhill, Day & Haghe Lithographers to the Queen.

iv) *View of Nelson Haven, in Tasman's Gulf, New Zealand*. On stone by T. Allom from a drawing made in November 1841 by C. Heaphy... London, Tralawney Saunders. Printed by C. Hullmandel.

v) *View of a part of the town of Wellington, New Zealand*. On stone by T. Allom, from a drawing made in September, 1841, by C. Heaphy, draughtsman to the New Zealand Company. Printed by C. Hullmandel.

14. *Hodnet Church, Bishop Heber's, Shropshire*. On Stone by T. Allom, printed Hullmandel. Unsourced.

15. *Transverse section Perspective of the Lobby to the New House of Commons* (270 x 215 mm) and *Perspective view of the Gallery of Approach to the New House of Commons* (220 x 130 mm), drawn on stone by T. Allom for Francis Goodwin c.1835 (Corporation of London, Guildhall Library) and reproduced in Diana Brooks, *Thomas Allom (1804-1872)*, (London, 1998) pp. 23-24.

16. Sir Keith Alexander Jackson, *Views in Affghaunistaun*, (sic) from sketches taken during the campaign of the Army of the Indus. W.H. Allen & Co. and T. M'Lean (London, 1841). Folio 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches (360 x 275mm). 26 hand-coloured lithograph plates (frontispiece and 25 views) after Jackson by W.L. Walton and T. Allom.

APPENDIX 4

Transcriptions of Original Letters

I. Letters from Henry Fisher to George Petrie (and other letters to Petrie)

Fisher to Petrie 1.

NLI, MS. 790 No. 190.

38 Newgate Street, London
August 15th, 1828

Sir

Mr John Greig has mentioned your name ... as having taken a number of Views throughout different parts of Ireland from a work entitled "Excursions in Ireland" which he was getting up. Having become the purchasers of that work, we address you to enquire whether you are at liberty to engage in taking a series of Views for us in Dublin and other parts of Ireland, and if at liberty whether you would be willing and could commence immediately. Also in case of our wanting it whether you would be willing to engage for a similar purpose in parts of England or elsewhere as might be deemed adviseable.

You have most likely seen Jones's *Views of London Buildings*, would such a style of Drawings be in your line ?

An early answer to the above Questions with all particulars as to in the event of an arrangement

Perhaps you would not object to make a Drawing of some new Public Building on the Plan (and size) of Jones's Views and from and for our inspection.

Fisher, Son & Co.

Fisher to Petrie 2.

MS 790 No 191.

38 Newgate Street, London
September 17th, 1828

Dear Sir

I saw Mr Wright monday morning and arranged every thing most amicably with him and signed and sealed the bargain both sides. We have heard a rumour that others are about to commence Dublin. I feel confident that mention of this will stimulate you to every possible exertion, and to let us have some Drawings at least 4 by the end of .. the week. It is a speculation of some moment and unless we can get into the field soon, will be one of utmost ruin to us - but I am sure from what I saw you will not allow this. I wish you would if

possible employ someone to take sketches under your superintendence. Pray write by return of Post and if possible let two Drawings accompany the letter - (also) as when we may expect as many as 8 which it is very, most desirable to have in hand. I really hardly know how to express the fears and hopes and at the same time the necessity of getting on ...

Yours truly in haste

Robert Fisher

Fisher to Petrie 3.

MS 791 No 192.

38 Newgate Street, London
September 18th, 1828

Dear Sir

The enclosed notice will convince you our fears as to a rival work were not groundless. We are sure it will not slacken your exertions and interest. They do not pay above half what we have agreed to give you for Drawings, and if forestalled, it will be a most disastrous speculation for us, but we feel every confidence on your best interest being used to progress our work, especially as we are now agreed with Mr Wright and must proceed on.

We have again canvassed the shares in all points and the same difficulties occur owing to the peculiar nature of our business and the prices we are obliged to sell at, looking for a remuneration of our risk and expenses in an extended sale alone. We have however two plans to propose which appear the only ways to us of arranging it as to give ultimate satisfaction and avoid ultimate disputes and litigation.

First:

It will take 5000 impressions of each number to pay the current expenses of each number - this is a calculation of Mr Fisher senior - in order therefore to give you an interested anxiety in the work we will guarantee to pay you two Guineas per Number upon every 1000 copies sold of any number after the first 5000 - if the sale should be considerable this will amount to a very handsome sum, without any risk on your part. Our Paper book would give the quantities of each number (?) printed and of course it would be presumed that the 1000 were sold when another 1000 was ordered to be re-printed.

Secondly:

A sixth share as follows which is the only plan that we can suggest as likely to give ultimate satisfaction to you or ourselves. We are, as you know, Letter-Press and Copper-Plate Printers and should therefore of course compose and print the Letter- Press and Plates ourselves, on the same terms, that, if given out to another respectable House, would be charged by it and which if necessary we shall at any time be willing to submit to the opinion of a respectable House. Paper we should buy on the best terms we could. The Engraving of the Plates would be the same as we have agreed to give Mr R. Wallis for our Lancashire Work. The Folding and Stitching done by ourselves at the same price as we should pay were it given out. These expenses would be debited against the work and to its credit we should propose that all the

Numbers printed be invoiced to us at expence for what the public pay 1/- [One shilling] i.e. half whatever was paid by the public for the work. This might appear somewhat low to you, but as we stated above, there is a peculiarity in our business which makes this proposition the only one that could possibly be brought to success [?]. And there are 5 or 6 items which though regularly charged by the Booksellers would be entirely borne by ourselves in order to simplify the thing - and which would bring the price down to very nearly if not quite what we have proposed:

1. 10 % Commission as Agents beyond the 25% as Booksellers
2. The 25th of each number (where 25 or more are taken), which are allowed to the Trade
3. Advertisements which will be something considerable
4. Bills and Prospectuses
5. The Circulation of our own Catalogue to the amount of about a Million yearly
6. A most important point indeed, you will have to run no risks of failures, bad debts etc, etc, - as we shall pay the expence per number whether we lose all or none.

You will still be paid for the Drawings as was mentioned before - viz £4 and 6 India Impressions of the work - Drawing payment one month after the drawings are approved. Mr Wright is to have 5 Guineas per sheet for editing - this is one of the items to be charged against the work of course. By the by I have forgotten to say the 1st and 2nd Numbers must be charged as one only, that being one of the peculiarities of our Business, - to give them as one. Before concluding we refer you again to the enclosed notice of Mr Shepherd - unless we can come out before them we had better not on the work at all. Best if you will let us have 3 Drawings per week for the next 4 weeks and 2 per week after, we shall not fear and let them be forwarded by mail the moment they are finished - two or even 1 at a time.

We ... also to say that if after the publication of th number you should feel inclined to from the share, you shall be at liberty to do ... whatever may be the ... undertaking - you agreeing of course to supply us with Drawings to complete it on the terms already specified. [This paragraph has a large inkspot over it making it difficult to decipher]

The matter is now fully before you and we wait your answer and we hope some Drawings with it.

Mr Wright requested a list of the Plates likely to be given and suggested the giving a subject on which there is much Letter Press likely to be required and one with little to go together in order that the descriptions and plates may fall together as equally as possible.

Yours Truly

Fisher, Son & Co.

Fisher to Petrie 4.

MS 791 No 193.

Robert Fisher, publisher
Newgate Street, London
September 30th, 1828

Dear Sir

We duly received yours of the 21st instant and on Sunday last the parcel of Drawings (3) with the Sarah Bridge and Wellington Testimonial. We feel much pleased - but if it is better to speak plainly, not so the R.C. Chapel - it is hardly subject enough for a first or second number and ought in our opinion to have been a long not upright subject- which shape is best adapted for monuments such as the Testimonial or Churches - when reduced it would appear very diminutive indeed. It is therefore our intention to create it into a long subject and thus preserve the Building nearly as large as at present - and we shall consequently feel greatly obliged by your letting us have a companion with all possible speed. We hope the next subjects will be some Street Views - with a good deal of bustle etc, etc. By the way we will mention all the drawings would admit of greater effect - the Engravers remark "they are feeble". You will excuse these remarks but we must push competition out of reach or we shall fail. I pray do not let the supposition that no one has yet commenced in Dublin slacken your exertions, you can hardly grasp what active and persevering opponents we have to deal with on every side and once they know of our design will stir heaven and earth to get the start on us - Besides Engravers are extremely difficult to be met with and unless we can furnish them with a constancy of work they will get it elsewhere of course. Could you not put one or two plates into the hands of Engravers in Dublin under your own superintendence one or two perhaps and another or two be met with £10 to £12 per Drawing is what we are to pay here.

We also wish to ask whether you cannot make them the size they are to be engraved. It will facilitate the progress of the work. The size fixed upon, and cannot now be altered, is for upright and steeple subjects $6 \text{ by } 3 \frac{7}{8}$ - for long subjects $5 \frac{1}{8} \text{ by } 3 \frac{7}{8}$. We will request you to keep this proportion to as great a nicety as possible. We do not wish too many \bigcirc subjects only where these are steeples or spires and such like - but all other description of Buildings certainly \sqcup subjects.

Pray do not stop till we have 12 Drawings in hand, we cannot establish the work under 3 numbers at the least, after the 12 - 3 a fortnight may answer till the Spring when we hope to receive 4 a fortnight at least.

We waited on Mr Higham, but he cannot undertake any at present, his hands being full- hope you have not and will not write him on anymore about them as the matter must be a secret at present. Please also not to put your initials on letters or parcels, in fact nothing that can make our servants acquainted whence or whom letters or parcels come- Would it not be well for Mr Wright to have the new Dublin Guide just published - perhaps you can forward it and charge to our A/C.

Yours Very Truly
For Fisher Co,

Robert Fisher

Postscript:

Hope the Custom House, Bank, Surgeon's Hall, and Street Views will be among the early Drawings. Have you seen the whole of Jones's London, if you were to purchase a set they might be some guide perhaps. They appear to please better than any work of the kind yet published.

Fisher to Petrie 5.

MS 791 No 194.

Robert Fisher
Newgate Street, London
October 6th, 1828

Dear Sir

Yours of the 2nd instant is received this morning. The Drawing of Dublin was also duly received and as you mentioned our receiving more before the close of the week, we have been anxiously expecting them - none have however arrived since the Dublin (on top of letter 'We are delighted with View of Dublin'). You may be certain of our taking every precaution and care to have the Engraving well done, and perhaps when we mention that many are to be, and all under the superintendence of without a doubt the most eminent Engraver in the line of the present day, you will feel some confidence in the statement - the Engraver is Mr E. Goodall and it is only in consequence of his early connection with us that he is prevailed upon to lend his valuable assistance.

You will excuse us not having taken your advise respecting the size of the View of Dublin. We considered the matter over and thought that our best plan would be to keep to ... plan steadily i.e. 6 by 3 7/8 inches for the upright or steeple subjects and 6 1/8 by 3 7/8 for the long subjects. Are sorry any misunderstanding arose about the upright subjects. But we do not think this size would answer for any steeples or monuments or such like. Time is of such vast importance that we put the R. C. Chapel into an Engraver's hands for a 5 Plate, especially as it will require very little alteration indeed. The Proofs will of course be sent and then you will not dislike it we trust. But do, my dear Sir, allow me most urgently to impress upon you the value and the necessity of speed. And do let me beg and entreat you to send first such drawings as are to be published in the earliest numbers. One week lost and the success of our work is lost beyond redemption and that others are preparing we have no doubt. You will remember saying in the letter that preceded the first three Drawings, that they were to go on separate plates as we should receive in 2 or 3 days 3 other Drawings to accompany them. These three were (immediately?) put into hand and are now waiting for the accompanying drawings - and we had a promise of the second drawing, were not delayed, and have the three plates finished by the end of October. Mr Goodall is doing Sarah Bridge and Dublin in his own house and we shall have this plate by the end of October and I earnestly hope tomorrow's mail will bring us 1 if not 2 more to complete the other plates. And do so request you keep in view the getting out 3 November rapidly and then we may rest contentedly and need not hurry on afterwards. Do you mean the Obelisk and Kingstown for a vignette for the wrapper or title page [title page crossed out]? It might so very well for the latter or perhaps as you suggested at first the City Arms would be as well as anything else.

We have received a Prospectus for the work from Mr Wright. I half fear he misunderstands its nature, as "Antiquity" is the foremost object in the address- though we of course do not intend to ... subject of Antiquity, it is the more modern Public Buildings etc that is our chief aim - in fact the Improvements. We feel much obliged for your zeal in regard to the work and hope it will prove of benefit to both parties.

Yours Truly in great haste
For Fisher Son, Co
Robert Fisher

P. S. Have you come to any decision yet about the two plans we mentioned ?

Fisher to Petrie 6.

MS 791 No 195.

Robert Fisher
Newgate Street, London
October 11th, 1828

Dear Sir

We duly received the "Phoenix Lodge" and "Memorial" at Kingstown. The latter my Father seemed much pleased with. The former he thought too still and quick and I therefore think it best to write you at once, as he is so anxious respecting the work. In order to have given it life and bustle, the Lord Lieutenant's Carriage and Four with an event of behind it as in the case I suppose might have been up the Park or the Ladies Paget and some friends prancing about on horseback. I think also you do not give the Building large enough for the kind of work ours is meant to be - a work of Public Buildings - though perhaps the subjects yet given are not to be judged of as of that peculiar kind. And in order that the figure may be tolerably large it would be better to taken place as near the objects ... as possible. Allow me to point out Number 9 of Jones's Metropolitan Improvements as a good example of what we want our work to be - a representation of the Public Buildings, Churches etc, given in a broad, bold style showing the Architecture clearly and distinctly - Number 15 of Jones's is also another good specimen.

But plenty of horses, carriages, Coaches etc. Jennings' Paris is niggling and diminutive. You will excuse these remarks I know for they are points upon which much of the success of the work will hinge.

I would also suggest the use of the Camera Obscura or Lucida, in order to get the objects strictly correct, it is recommended for this description of work by all who talk ... upon the subject. Perhaps also if you could meet with an Architectural Draftsman it would be an assistance in that particular branch of the drawing and expedite it also. You will think me proving I fear, but as I have not the advantage personally printing out exactly what I mean, you will excuse any roundaboutness in a letter: ... instance as what I wish - if the Post Office were being taken that it alone should be represented as large as is possible and the houses

beyond brought in small to fill up. With the Post Office given in a group if I may use such an expression. A Street View of course would be different. Here the upper part of Sackville Street might begin the picture and the Post Office fall in the distance - but where a Drawing is called for instance The Bank - The Post Office etc, etc, that building to be the Building in the Drawing.

We have deviated from your wish respecting the Memorial at Kingstown . It is so important to be that we have put it on the same plate as the Testimonial.

Yours Ever Truly
For F. S. Co. Robert Fisher

Fisher to Petrie 7.

MS 791 No 196.

Robert Fisher
Newgate Street, London
October 24th, 1828

Dear Sir

We duly received yours of the 13th. I feel much pleased by the spirit of anxiety it displayed to make the work everything desirable. The Drawings were also duly received and give much satisfaction. The Engravers say they will make excellent Plates. I saw Mr Goodall this morning and he spoke in the most flattering terms of the College Street - said it was beautiful - we would only remark (ab)out it - to keep the figures as distinct and much made out as possible. Mr G. noticed the beautiful grouping of the figures among the rest. The Bill for £32 has also been presented and accepted.

Could you continue to send us 4 Drawings Fortnightly for the next two months - it would be a great matter in favour of the work - and if sent in one parcel save much expense, the carriage of each parcel being 7/2=.

We are very anxious at not having received any more Drawings yet - pray don't delay them a moment - We know for certain that Mr Shepherd returned from Dublin last Saturday night having completed his list of sketches and we have been led to understand he sent some finished Drawings some time ago.

If drawing the Bill at 2 months would suit you - we should prefer it - you will get rid of them just as easily as at one month.

The following hints have been suggested to us for our Lancashire Work - will suit Dublin etc. also -

The Views should be chosen and executed with some regard to system and selection:

1st. A series of views of the City or Town from 2 to 4 distant points showing the commanding and exterior features and forms of the buildings and the surrounding country, being very scrupulous in drawing the outlines of hills and buildings.

2nd. The popular entrances or approaches to the Place, taking in each view some leading object near the foreground, to come as a principal feature.

3rd. Show some of the finest and best streets, squares, terraces etc.

4th. The most interesting buildings externally and internally.

5th. Monuments of very eminent persons, local processions - ceremonies - customs

6th. In street views, where practicable, give the names distinctly, over the various shops - it interests the parties in the work. A detailed list of these to be made out fully, for the Publishers and Editors inspection and mutual communication with each other.

We are putting College Street on the same plate as the Roman C. Chapel etc.- to set it off and to lose no time - the R.C. Chapel is finished.

Hoping that some Drawings will reach here before this reaches you and that more will arrive in the course of next week.

I remain yours truly for F. Co. Robert Fisher

P.S. If convenient I wish you would make enquiry whether Shepherd's Work is expected at all and soon - a little pains in the matter would be well applied as it is of much consequence to our work.

Note on top of the first page of the letter:

..... sight of the bright sunshine effect - it is much noticed in Shepherd's London.

Fisher to Petrie 8.

MS 791 No 197.

Robert Fisher
Newgate Street, London
November 3, 1828

Dear Sir

Your Drawing of the Post Office was received this morning and much gratified we feel by it - it is all we wish.

Allow me to beg you to provide immediately subjects to accompany the Phoenix Lodge and Phoenix Column (latter upright) they are both in a very forward state and subjects will be wanted the end of this week- you are not quite so well acquainted with the London Engravers as ourselves, or you would see the cause of our anxiety on this point - if they have not a

Drawing ready to go on with immediately on finishing what is in hand they take up another plate and put ours on one side. If therefore you will forward the above subjects first it will oblige us.

The Castle would perhaps be a suitable subject for accompanying the Phoenix Park.

It would be well so to arrange that a full and difficult subject be accompanied by an easier one.

What do you mean by Tilt as a Rival ? Is he doing Dublin ? Hoping you are in better health, I remain yours truly, for F. Co. Robert Fisher.

P. S. We do not wish you to advise us by Post of Drawings being sent. A little expense will be saved by this and we do not get the Drawings sooner.

Note at the top of the page:
Hope to receive Drawings in the course of the week.

Fisher to Petrie 9.

MS 791 No 198.

Robert Fisher
Newgate Street, London
November 15, 1828

Dear Sir

To proceed as we have been doing for the last month (fortnight crossed out), at the rate of one Drawing a fortnight will be ruin as complete as our worst enemy could wish us. Only consider the matter over and I think you will not treat us so. Do, for the sake of your own credit as well as ours, do put your best exertions to the wheel and help us over the dilemma the last month has plunged us into by sending at least 2 Drawings per week. You can do it if you will, I am sure and I think you will. Remember you promised us 6 a month we have only received 9 in two months.

If the work is to succeed you must never be below the mark of 4 per month. Make up your mind to this, my Dear Sir, it is indispensable, and I am sure you will not voluntarily plunge us into serious difficulties. If I could engage you a young man here, whose Architectural talents are unquestionable, would you engage him for a month or two to make sketches - this would enable you to get on much more quickly: and the advantages would be as much yours as ours. If willing to engage him say what you would like to pay him etc.etc.

We have sent a number of small parcels containing Prospectusses [sic] of the Work - Will you oblige us by directing them to the various Booksellers in Dublin and hire a man to deliver them; we will repay you again the first opportunity - your attention to this will greatly oblige.

Yours truly, for Fisher, Son Co.
Robert Fisher

The Work may be expected latter end of next week.

Fisher to Petrie 10.

MS 791 No 199.

Robert Fisher
Newgate Street, London
February 10th, 1829

Dear Sir

Yours of the 13th and Drawing duly arrived. It is certainly more effective in parts but the Figures are too sketchy still - before we can produce engravings equal to Jones's or Westall's (Tilts) the Drawings must be finished exactly, as they are to appear when engraved and nothing left for the Engraver to make out. Shepherd will not allow any alteration in his in effect or architecture. If yours were for Pictures merely, they would be admirably. Engraving is much altered to what it was 3 or 4 or some years' ago, when they had to go begging for work, then they had time to find inclination to attend to making out the Drawings. Now they will not. Your Figures are infinitely better than Shepherds, but from the slight manner in which they are finished, are lost in the Engravings.

All make the same complaints as to your Drawings, beautifully outlined "milk and water" effects. Barber, Higham, Goodall, Winkles, Brewer etc. etc. As to the Skies do take our advice and make them quiet as possible with a light flickering cloud or two hovering about. This in a general way would add much to the Engravings.

Mr Goodall has the Castle Yard - fear there is too much in for the size.

Would you have any objections to take the outlines and let us here the effects and figures finished in ? Sepia is better than Indian Ink.

The Vignette is wanted - to publish in number 4 - which it will be impossible to publish till it is engraved. It is now sadly in arrears with the Public.

Yours truly for F. S. Co.
Robert Fisher

Wanted = The Vignette (urgently?)

" " Interior for Barbers Plate - he is ready for it now
" " Match for Vice Regal Lodge - something showy
" " Two subjects for Woolnoth to engrave - send one urgently

It is Advizeable:

That the Drawings are made the exact size they are to be engraved and with the effect the engraver is to produce - with detached parts on separate paper on a larger scale -(when needful) - and only use two colours.

Fisher to Petrie 11.

MS 790 No 189.

London April 4th, 1829

Dear Sir

We doubt much the propriety of using two of the King's Bridges, and also the old (subject) ones, such as Strongbow's Monument and Portlester's Chapel, and several others of doubtful character, when the Title of our book is took into account. As Howth Light House is in the Vignette, what propriety is there in have another of the same View under the name of "The Barlie Howth ? (* we have not given it out to engrave) - especially as there can be no want of subjects. It will not do to surfeit the public. The "Terenure" is too slight unfinished and sketchy and had not time pressed we must have returned [?] it to finish: but we can't go on thus. We had to employ an artist to touch in effect before the engraver could it.

If we could have had drawings for McGahey, an Irish lad, who serves his apprenticeship at The Caxton Office to me, we might have All his time on the book but Engravers get tired of being "Humbled" in about drawings and they turn up the nose about our "promise of Dublin Drawings".

"Trust the wind" say they "as soon as Mr Petrie !"

We are perhaps the only House who have patronized the Irish in taking their boy apprentices and we have several who have been with us in different departments for 10, 15 and 20 years. Mr Petrie seems determined we shall no longer Irish Written promise and repeatedly written Yours.

It will [be] useless to send any but Principal New Subjects and original Drawings and they to the size to be engraved, and finished with detail and effect ready for the engraver, to be made by him like the Drawing only. Milk and Watery Ghosts they don't understand.

As usual, the Drawings promised have not arrived.

Yours.... H. Fisher, Son & Co.

John Greig to George Petrie.

MS 791 No 213.

Dear Sir

Two letters from you awaited my return home last monday. I am sorry that one of them should have laid so long unanswered. Family illness has hindered my coming to Ireland this autumn and I have not power to say at present when I shall be able to come. But within a very short time I will transmit you a Bank of England Post Bill to the full amount due to you for Drawings unless you advise me of any mode of remittance more acceptable to yourself.

Mrs G is very ill and my second daughter has been so long ill that I now despair of her recovery. I hope yourself Mr Petrie and family are well.

Forgive my long silence and believe me D.....

Your obliged servant (?)

Islington November 17, 1821

Greig

G.N. Wright to George Petrie.

MS 794 No 692.

29 September, 1826 or 1828
..... N. Wales

My Dear Petrie

If you used equal diligence all your life you might be now residing in Wales or wherever you pleased. I have sent off a Prospectus, according to orders, this day. I hope it will be approved of, and I have received directions to draw up a short description of the County Dublin,- I have this already done amongst my papers, but I shall re-write it all. I have requested Burnet [?] to borrow you Dublin Scenery as I have not a copy, and forward it by Coach [?], if that fail, to purchase one. As to "Testimonial" Memorial is much better and column is applied to Lord Hills memorial at Shrewsbury. Could you see Farrell [?] the First F... to Architect, and ask him to send me brief accounts of his Churches at Cull.... Wood, Battmenzies [?], Simons Court [?] and ...Phippsborough/ Philsborough [?] of St Pauls also I should be glad to have an architectural description. When was the Phoenix column re-erected by Frank Johnston? I thank you for St Andrews. I have my account of that interesting monument before me just now - do you remember having seen it in the Observer [?] Pray don't you think some of the monuments in the Cathedral might be introduced? I shall write to for Chambers Street [?], he was born not far from it. Bainsford [?] Street was once fashionable and boasted a Theatre for the representation of the legitimate[?] New Street is a blank subject for me.

Now the wrapper -

1. Column commemorative of the King's Visit
 2. College Printing House [.....?]
 3. Andrews Arch, or Guild Hall of St Anne (still standing)
 4. Old(vide Matton?)
 5. St Mary's Abbey (still extant)
 6. Great Western Door of St Patricks
 7. One of the Entrances to the Castle of Dublin
 8.tower, ruined Abbeyetc
 9. Strongbow's Tomb
 10. Swift's Bust
 11. The Kings Bridge etc, etc
- I ... from the first if it can be made (to) look decently picturesque

12. Newtown Park Obelisk is a pretty object.

Observe I don't disapprove of your, I only suggest.

D..... failed in obtaining a leave. I have just commenced building. The Weather is unfavourable to me. Lewis the engraver, from London spent a day with me. C.....,eldest son dined with me this day. I am greatly pleased to perceive you so akin to this speculation of Fishers. I hope it will succeed. I too am anxious. I want information about the new churches. I shall send you a prospectus the moment I get the proof sheet. I may have to cross to Ireland with my nieces. Farewell yours dutifully G.N. Wright

George Cooke to Petrie.

MS 790 No 128.

My Dear Sir

Allow me to return your very kind thanks for your goodnatured letter as I am very much hurried with my Picture of Calcott'sLord Essex you will excuse a long epistle. I trust Mr Waterman who I find to be a very pleasant genteel man will say all for me. I am obliged excessively by your remembrance of my antiquity..... soul of.... I hear with... .. your voluptuous treats of antiquarian researches in Ireland. I hope sincerely your life may be prolonged with your praiseworthy pursuits, that health ? competence? May meet you under every new object of your research. I send you a couple of ... proofs of some of my plates hoping they ... a smile of approbation. I mean only as an earnest? of mine, at a more leisurely time. I am or rather intend all Mr?..... Pictures on a large scale for myself and him in conjunction. I hope it will be a prosperous undertaking or I am done for.

With every good wish for your health together with that of your family Believe me
? My Dear Sir, truly sincerely George Cooke
Holloway August 10, 1824

James Norris Brewer to George Petrie. Letter 1.

MS 789 No 46.

Brewer
Aug 26 1826 ?

Hyde Brixton, Surrey

My Dear Sir

It is now some considerable time since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you. Whenever it suits you to write I am much gratified by letters from you;

Three drawings have been lately received from you by our publishers which strike me as being extremely elegant. I have not seen ? Mr Storer (?) since they arrived, as he has been absent from the neighbourhood of London, but I hope and doubt not that he will attend to my request and will correspond with you whenever he has anything to say.

I put down (?) in a desultory way anything that occurs to me, and leave the letter open for a few days until I have the opportunity of forwarding it.

The Proprietors are fond of the seats of the Nobility and powerful gentry. One or two seats of striking architecture or importance would certainly be desirable in an early part of the work. Such a seat in regard to architecture is Shelton Abbey (?) (Lord Wicklow's) a view of that place has appeared in the work under the name of the man Neale, who is more of a publisher than a draughtsman. The drawing in the work under his name was by the architect, my neglected friend Mr Morison. I leave it to your judgement whether it would do for us to give another view of that building. I by no means venture to advise it. You best know whether there are subjects really finer, more important, and more architectural and picturesque. Neale's view you will see is mere architectural.

Some seat so striking as to be a national ornament we certainly want for an early number. Garton is ugly enough, but the Duke's name is "a tower of strength". We must have it and perhaps the sooner the better.

Some views of Dublin also (one in the first number).

There has never been a good engraved view of Hagworth ? You and I talked of it. With the arrangement which your taste will dictate perhaps it may not be displeasing. Shall you be able to introduce the ruinous castle of the Fitzgeralds, a lovely object ! But Hagworth although treated with due respect(?) will not appear till the ... or 5th number.

Be so kind as to write on the views, the subject of each, the principal objects embraced, and if you please the point whence the view is taken etc, etc.

I shall also feel personally obliged by any remarks (description etc, etc) which you Be so kind as to transmit to me in a letter of each subject. Pray allow me to say that for such friendly services (incidentally out of the of the duties you have been pleased to undertake) I shall be happy to make any return that is agreeable to you.

On looking at the foregoing part of this letter I do not recollect anything very important to add.

We certainly begin publishing in November and are going to stereotype the work.

The more drawings you send speedily the better.

Pray make me out a list of the subjects (wherever situated) on which you havepicked.

.....
Very truly yours
J.N. Brewer

James Norris Brewer to George Petrie. Letter 2.

MS 789 No 59.

Address unreadable

Brixton, March 5th, 1822

My Dear Sir

I have duly received yours of Feb 23rd and thank you for the trouble you took calling upon Mr Johnston. I am obliged by Mr Johnston's polite wish that I would send to him the *Beauties of Ireland*. From several other gentlemen in Ireland I have received similar kind requests, but it was my assured intention when in Ireland, and it must ever remain my determination, not to send a single copy myself in way of sale. In fact I have nothing to do with the selling of *The Beauties*; and I have pleasure in saying that it is equally the determination of the English Publishers of the work not to sell a single copy in Ireland except through the hands of the Irish booksellers.

Thank you for intelligence respecting the Subscription for monument commemorative of the Royal visit. I believe I told you that the King has been pleased (chiefly I believe from the interest taken in it by a certain nobleman) to bestow his particular patronage on our work.

I am very sorry to learn that you have been unwell. Accept my best wishes for your good health.

I need not reflect that I am the mere agent or medium between you and Storer.

He begs me to suggest to you that it is very desirable that you would be pleased to introduce "figures of all descriptions, Carriages etc, anything that will impart animation to the scenery" in future views. This and all other suggestions I leave to your consideration.

I am greatly obliged by your kind offer of collecting for me topographical notices respecting the Giant's Causeway. I am very particularly desirous of obtaining all possible intelligence in regard to that neighbourhood and will write to you again in about a week's time.

Some text missing?

Family business into Oxfordshire. My family affairs have lately pressed heavily on my hands but I hope that I shall bring them to a conclusion within the present month and my whole attention will then be devoted to my favourite pursuit - namely topography and especially the topography of Ireland.

Let me hope that you may find leisure to visit England this Spring whilst our Exhibition is open. I believe that you thoroughly understand I have a bed as long as you please and a hearty welcome at ... service. The Welcome is indeed the best thing I can offer: I live five miles from London, quite out of the great world; but in a little way, and in a part of the country commanding good prospects, I will endeavour to my utmost to render you comfortable.

I will write furtheron subject of Giant's Causeway and remain Dear Sir , Ever Yours
Brewer

James Norris Brewer to George Petrie. Letter 3.

MS 789 No 70.

Monkhams
Woodford, Essex
3rd January 1824

My Dear Sir

I am greatly obliged to your letter and am truly concerned to hear that illness had any where in causing you to delay writing. Accept my best wishes for your enjoying good health and every other blessing throughout the year which is now newly commenced.

I hope I need not say that I have a proper and very grateful sense of your kindness in procuring the account of Seats in Waterford and Tipperary from Mr Morrison, and for the other valuable information you have afforded in your last. I shall be much gratified if you take the trouble of writing again when you receive the promised favour from Mr Kean.

We shall be extremely glad to receive the six drawings you are preparing. I have not lately seen Storer in consequence of my confinement to the house for some time past by a rheumatic affection produced I believe by our variable island climate.

In regard to Bective Abbey (a six subject?) I would submit to your judgement , but in my own opinion think that we have proposed sufficient ruins in that quarter, and should greatly prefer an attention to Seats.

I am sorry that Mr Mc Skimmin cannot conveniently arrange so as to answer his wishes and mine in regard to his papers. I shall be happy (if agreeable to him) to give any little publicity in my power to his labours, by mentioning in *The Beauties* that he has made extensive MS collections for 60 ... Antrim. If so you will perhaps favour me with the way in which I should state his name and address.

What brutes they must have been who suffered the remains atto be destroyed !

If you could without too much trouble I should certainly be pleased with any notice of the Crosses erected by Dame Janet Dowdal.

I am seriously concerned by what you said respecting Mr Shaw Mason (?) , who has treated me with great kindness and friendship.

I send this letter by a channel, which offers facility and free communication with Dublin, and I hope will prove regular. Pray tell me in your next, and if any delay arise I will send in future in another way. As I have the opportunity of sending this free, I trouble you with a letter to Mr G. D. Bellew which I shall be obliged if you will forward to him, after sealing it.

Believe me my Dear Sir, Very Sincerely Yours
J.N. Brewer

II. Letters from Fisher, Son & Co to Mr Winstanley, Secretary of the Royal Institution Manchester

Fisher to Winstanley. Letter 1

MS. M6/1/55 Manchester Public Libraries.

London. 38 Newgate Street
July 27th 1835

Sir,
Tomorrow we propose sending off to Kenworthy & Co:
1 Watercolour Painting by A. Chisholm - "The Widow's Mite"
6 ----- Drawings by H. Melville - Illustrating various portions of the "Pilgrim's Progress".

We wish the same to be exhibited in the approaching Manchester Exhibition.

Owing to absence from Town we have delayed sending rather too long but hope they will still be in time to be favoured with a place.

We will write you again on Wednesday stating all particulars, and on future occasions should feel much obliged by your sending us the usual notice respecting the opening Exhibition.

We are, Sir, your obedient humble Servants
Fisher, Son & Co
Signature possibly: Thomas Rose.

Fisher to Winstanley. Letter 2.

MS. M6/1/55/333.

Date in July unreadable

Sir,

We have forwarded to Kenworthy & Co the Drawings alluded to in ours of the 27th inst. Numbered 1 to 9 which is 2 more of Pilgrims Progress subjects than we at first contemplated- but being the same series we thought it better to include them.

The following is the description of each

No. 1 - Shepherd Boy in the Valley of Humiliation.

"Now as they were going along and talking, they spied a boy feeding his father's sheep and as he sat by himself he sung. Then said the guide, do you hear him ? I will dare to say this boy lives a merrier life, and wears more of the herb called heart's ease in his bosom, than he which is clad in silk and velvet". Pilgrim's Progress.

No. 2. The River of the Water of Life - ditto (Pilgrim's Progress)

3. Christian got up to the Gate.

"He went like one that was all the while heading on forbidden ground, I could by no means think himself safe, till he was again got in the way which he left to follow Mr Worldly Wiseman's counsel. So in process of time Christian got up to the gate". Pilgrim's Progress.

4. The Pilgrim's - Christiana and her Companions

(Tear in Manuscript - Text missing)

Christian and Hopeful escaping from Doubting Castle.

Now a little before it was day, good Christian, as one half amazed, brake out in this succinct (?) speech: What a fool, quoth he, am I thus to be stinking in a dungeon, when I may as well walk at liberty. I have a key in my bosom called Promise, that will, I am persuaded open any lock in Doubting Castle. Then said Hopeful, that's good news, good brother, pluck it out of thy bosom and try, then Christian pulled it out of his bosom and began to try at the dungeon door, whose bolt, as he turned the key, gave back and the door flew open with ease and Christian and Hopeful both came out". Pilgrim's Progress.

No. 6. The Palace called Beautiful.

"He lifted up his eyes, and beheld there was a very stately palace before him the name of which was Beautiful and looking very narrowly before him as he went he espied two lions in the way". Pilgrim's Progress.

See Plate 34, p.54 in Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* 1836, drawn by H. Melville, engraved by J.C. Bentley and dated 1835.

No.7. "Death of Giant Despair and Destruction of Doubting Castle.

But great heart was his death for he left him not till he had severed his head from his shoulders - then they fell to demolishing Doubting Castle". Pilgrim's Progress.

See Plate 27, p.45 in Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* 1836, drawn by H. Melville, engraved by J. Sands and dated 1835

No. 8. The Wicket Gate

The Keeper of the Gate did marvel, saying, what ! is she now become a pilgrim that but awhile ago abhorred the life ? Then she bowed her head, and said, Yea,

No. 9. The Widow's Mite

The Pilgrim's Progress Plates are designed for a new and elegant edition ... that work to be published during the ensuing Winter.

See Plate 19, p.34 in Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* 1836, drawn by A. Chisholm, engraved by E. Portbury and dated 1835

Prices

Widow's Mite and Frame 20 Guineas

Pilgrim's Progress Subjects taking the whole - 8 guineas each

Separately - 10 guineas each

Yours very respectfully
Fisher, Son & Co.

Note: *The Literary Gazette* 1836, vol. 20, p.285 has an announcement for the 1836 Royal Manchester Institution Exhibition. An Exhibition of Pictures in Oil and Watercolours and proof impressions of Modern Engravings for August next. Exhibits are to be forwarded from London through Messrs Kenworthy and Son, Carriers. Signed T.W. Winstanley, 20 April, 1836.

Fisher's *Drawing Room Scrap Book* for 1836 contained an advertisement : Shortly will be published *Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress*. A new edition with Life by Josiah Conder. Illustrated with 13 highly finished Engravings, from Drawings by J.M.W. Turner and Henry Melville.

III. Letter from Fisher, Son & Co to Edwin Butterworth

Oldham M.B.C. Archives.
D-But/H/1/2/192.

London, January 4/ 1842

Sir,

We feel extremely obliged by your kind note of yesterday - which with the work shall be handed to the Rev. Wright - and your wishes strictly adhered to.

We feel obliged also by your offer of services - I feel sure you can render us much assistance. A copy of our work will with pleasure be placed at your service, if you will have the kindness to say - the best method of forwarding it to you.

Again thanking you,

We are, Sir, your obedient and obliged servants
Fisher, Son & Co

To: Edwin Butterworth Esq
Busk, Oldham

Note: Edwin Butterworth and the Manchester Press 1829-48.

In 2003 the Manchester Centre for Regional History held a conference *on Edwin Butterworth and the early 19th century provincial press*. www.mcrh.mmm.ac.uk

Dr Michael Winstanley: *Edwin Butterworth: Newspaperman and Local Historian*

Dr Andrew Walker: *The development of the provincial press in the early 19th century*

Dr Robert Poole: *James Butterworth and the autodidact tradition*

Roger Ivens and Len MacDonald: *What's in the Butterworth Collection ?*

Dr Robert Poole, 'The March to Peterloo' in *Past and Present*, no. 192, August 2006, p.109.

APPENDIX 5

Allom's Designs for the Engravers

1. Thomas Agnew: 103rd Annual Exhibition of Watercolours and Drawings, January-February 1976

14 Alloms in the Catalogue as follows:

127. *A Chateau at Pau*

Pen, pencil and sepia wash

4 7/8 x 7 1/2 inches (123 x 190mm)

Collection H.J. Tomkins

Engraved: C.T. Dixon as Plate 1 of Allom's *Views of the Pyrenees*, 1840 (*France Illustrated*, vol. III, no.26).

128. *The Castle in Doddington Park, Cheshire*

Pencil and sepia wash

3 3/4 x 6 inches (96 x 152 mm)

Dated October 8th, 1836 on original mount

Engraved: J. Lewis, no. 59 from Noble and Rose's *Chester, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln and Rutland Illustrated*, 1836.

129. *Chatsworth*

Pencil and sepia wash

3 3/4 x 6 inches (96 x 152 mm)

Engraved either by W. Taylor, no. 38 or J. Saddler, no. 49 from Noble and Rose's *Chester* etc.

130. *Haddon Hall*

Pencil and sepia wash

3 3/4 x 5 3/4 inches (96 x 146 mm)

Engraved: J. Sands, no. 11 from Noble and Rose's *Chester* etc.

132. *The Courtyard of Haddon Hall at Night*

Pen and sepia wash

3 3/4 x 6 inches (96 x 152 mm)

Engraved: J. Sherrat, no. 12 from Noble and Rose's *Chester* etc.

133. *On the Terrace at Chatsworth*

Pencil and sepia wash

3 3/4 x 6 inches (96 x 152 mm)

Engraved either by W. Taylor, no. 38 or J. Saddler, no. 49.

134. *Belvoir Castle*

Pen and sepia wash

3 7/8 x 6 1/8 inches (98 x 155 mm)

Engraved J. Sands, either no. 7 or 8.

135. *Thorncroft, near Leatherhead*

Pencil and sepia wash

5 x 7 7/8 (126 x 197 mm)

Signed

Collection of Mrs D. Reading, daughter of Sir Charles Allom

From Brayley's *Surrey*, 1841, volume IV, no. 23 Thorncroft, seat of the late Col. Drinkwater Bethane, engraved J. Starling.

136. *Haddon Hall*

Sepia wash

3 1/4 x 5 3/8 inches (82 x 132 mm)

From Noble and Rose's *Chester* etc, either nos 11 or 12.

151. *Dinner Party at a Mandarin's House*

Pen, ink and sepia wash

4 7/8 x 7 1/4 inches (124 x 184 mm)

From *China Illustrated*, 1843, engraved G. Paterson, vol I, p.93 (plate I:30).

153. *The Theatre at Tien-Sin*

Pencil, pen and sepia wash

4 7/8 x 7 1/2 inches (125 x 190mm)

From *China Illustrated*, engraved J. Sands, vol. I, p.82 (plate I: 25).

155. *Croydon Church*

Pencil and sepia

5 1/8 x 7 3/8 inches (130 x 187 mm)

Inscribed

Collection: Mrs D. Reading, daughter of Sir Charles Allom

From Brayley's *Surrey*, vol. IV, 1 engraved J.W. Archer.

157. *The Terrace of a Mandarin's House in Peking*

Pen and sepia wash

4 7/8 x 7 1/4 inches (125 x 184 mm)

From *China Illustrated*, engraved by A. Willmore, vol II, p.15 (II.5)

Illustrated in Agnews Catalogue.

158. *The House of a Chinese Merchant near Canton*

Pencil and sepia wash

4 7/8 x 7 1/2 inches (125 x 190mm)

From *China Illustrated*, engraved W.H. Capone, vol. I, p.96 (I:31).

2. Allom sketches and related items in the Martyn Gregory Catalogue (1977):

11. *Rice Sellers at Tong-Chang-Foo*

watercolour, 6 1/4 x 8 3/4 inches (160 x 220 mm)

Preparatory watercolour for engraving in G.N. Wright's *China Illustrated*, vol. I p. 87.

12. *The Western Gate of Ching-Keang Foo*

watercolour, 10 x 14 in (255 x 355 mm)

China, vol. IV p. 38 after a sketch by Capt. Stoddart.

13. *The Grand Temple at Poo-Tow, Chusan Island*
pencil and brown wash, 4 7/8 x 7 1/4 inches (124 x 185 mm)
China, vol. IV p. 28 after a sketch by Capt. Stoddart.

14. *Sacrifice of the Ching-tswetsee or Harvest Moon*
pencil and brown wash, 5 x 7 in (120 x 180 mm)
China, vol. III p. 36.

15. *The West Gate, Peking*
pencil and grey wash, 3 x 3 1/2 in (75 x 90mm)
Inscribed
China, vol. III p. 39.

16. *Termination of the Great Wall of China, as seen from the sea at the Gulf of Pecheli*
pencil and brown wash, 5 x 7 1/2 in (125 x 190 mm)
China, vol. III p. 21.

17. *Attack and Capture of Chenpee, near Canton*
pencil and brown wash, 5 x 7 1/2 in (125 x 190 mm)
China, vol. II p. 5 after sketch by Lieut. White, R.M.

18. *The Porcelain Tower, Nanking, with the city wall and town beyond*
watercolour, 10 x 14 in (255 x 355 mm)
China, vol. II p. 32 after sketch by Lt. White, R.M.

238 (p. 93) Lt. Frederick White, *The Tai-wang-Kow or Great Yellow Pagoda Fort, Canton River*
watercolour, 9 1/2 x 12 1/2 in (240 x 315 mm)
signed, inscribed
This was copied by Allom
China, vol. III p.16.

239. (p. 93) Lt. Frederick White, (?) *The Principal Bridge at Nanking, with a view of the Porcelain Tower. An Imperial Commissioners Barge arriving to treat with the English.*
watercolour, 9 1/2 x 12 1/4 in (240 x 310 mm)
signed and inscribed
China, vol. IV p.30
Plate actually says "Sketched on the spot by Capt. Stoddart".

With reference to number 18: *The Porcelain Tower at Nanking*, an oil painting of this subject after Allom, was sold at Christie's (1986), dimensions 17 x 21 inches (430 x 533 mm).⁷⁴⁷

⁷⁴⁷ Christie's South Kensington, 10 June 1986, Sale no. Rapids 1707, Lot 145

APPENDIX 6

ENGRAVERS

Primary Sources include: John Pye, *Patronage of British Art*, Longman (London, 1845) was a useful source for engraver's Christian names and membership of the *Artist's Annuity Fund*. In the latter, Pye lists about 315 names but not all are engravers. *The Art Journal* 1849-1912 often gives information on engravers particularly in their obituaries. Contemporary Dictionaries and Magazines such as Grave's *Dictionary of Artists* (1854), Redgrave's *Dictionary of Artists of the English School* (1878), Arnold's *Library of the Fine Arts*, the *Literary Gazette*, the *Gentlemen's Magazine* etc provided information but it is the books themselves that are the main source for the names of the engravers.

Secondary Sources include: Basil Hunnisett's *An Illustrated Dictionary of British Steel Engravers* (Aldershot, 1989) is an important source of biographical information on engravers and lists approximately 400. However, as in any work of this nature, there are bound to be omissions and lacunae, and often Hunnisett confuses the issue by stating the date of an engraving whilst not realizing that the engraving has been re-used from a previous publication, for example, any topographical view in *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book* was guaranteed to have been used in a previous publication, also Hunnisett mixes up engravings in *Lancashire Illustrated* with later reprints in the *Gallery of Engravings*. Bernard Adam's, *London Illustrated 1604-1851* (London, 1983) provided very good and accurate information as listed in my Secondary Literature Review. Merlyn Holloway, *Steel-engravings in nineteenth century British topographical books* (London, 1977) lists about 332 engravers who worked on steel in alphabetical order and this provided a good cross reference check with Hunnisett as did Rodney K. Engen, *A Dictionary of Victorian Engraving* (London, 1975). Information from the website Devon.gov.uk under Devon Libraries local studies service's *Biographical Dictionary of Printmakers* provided a certain number of addresses for the engravers. The British Book Trade Index (BBTI) also provided up to date information.

Note:

AAF shows the engraver was a member of the *Artist's Annuity Fund* and the date elected.

*An asterisk denotes they were one of Turner's engravers during his lifetime.

1. Index to Fisher's Engravers.

Acon, R.

Adlard, Henry, 27 Windsor Terrace, City Road (1823), 3 Castle Street (1829), 42 Hatton Garden (1832-65)

Allen, James Baylis or Jas. Allen, (1803-1876), AAF 1831, trained Birmingham and Findens, 10 Upper Islington Terrace (1832)

Allen, James Charles. *(d.1831) trained W.B. Cooke, London.

Archer, J.W.

Armytage, James Charles *

Barber, Thomas, AAF 1821

Basire, James - 3rd* and 4th (1796-1869)

Benjamin, E.

Bentley, Joseph Clayton, AAF 1839

Bond, H. or H.W. 87 Newman Street (1832-36)

Bradshaw, Samuel

Brandard, Edward Paxman, trained Birmingham
 Brandard, John, AAF 1839
 Brandard, Robert, * (1805-62) AAF 1827. Trained Birmingham. 10 Theberton Street, Islington (1832)
 Buckle, D.
 Capone or Capon, William Holmes, AAF 1837
 Carse, A.
 Carter, James
 Challis, Ebenezer
 Clark, T.
 Cleghorn, John
 Cooke, George * (1781-1834) apprenticed to James Basire, London.
 Cooke, William Bernard, * (1778-1855)
 Cooke, William John, * AAF 1823
 Cousen, Charles
 Cousen, John, * (1804-80), AAF 1839
 Dale, T.A.
 Davies, B.R. or J.R. or J. or J.T.
 Deeble, William
 Dixon, Thomas, or T. 6 Pulteney Street, White Conduit Fields (1832)
 Dixon, Charles Thomas
 Engleheart, J.
 Finden, Edward Francis,* (1791-1857), AAF 1818. 18 & 19 Southampton Place, Euston Square (1825-32)
 Finden, William, * (1787-1852), AAF 1810
 Fisher, Samuel, AAF 1831
 Fleming, T. or Flemming
 Floyd, William, AAF 1836
 Fox, Augustus
 Goodall, Edward, * (1795-1870), AAF 1820
 Goodman, T. or G.
 Goodyear, Joseph
 Graham, A.W.
 Greig, John *
 Griffith or Griffiths, Henry, AAF 1834 (listed as painter)
 Havell or Havill, Frederick James
 Heath, Alfred Theodosius
 Heath, Charles Theodosius * (1785-1848)
 Heath, Frederick Augustus
 Heath, Henry Charles
 Heath, James * (1757-1834)
 Heath, P.
 Higham, Thomas, * (1795-1844), AAF 1820 (listed as Auditor)
 Hill, W.
 Hinchcliffe, John James or I.J. (1805-1875). 4 Mornington Place (1845-55)
 Holl, W.B. or William, AAF 1839 (listed as portrait painter)
 Horsburgh, John * (1791-1869), Scottish engraver trained in Edinburgh.
 Jeavons, Thomas, * AAF 1829
 Jenkins, J.
 Le Keux, Henry, * (1787-1868) AAF 1812, trained by James Basire, London.

Le Keux, John, (1783-1846) AAF 1820, trained by James Basire, London.
 Le Keux, John Henry, AAF 1838 (listed as architectural engraver)
 Le Petit, A.
 Le Petit, William, A.
 Kelsall, W.
 Kernot, J. or James Harfield, * AAF 1830
 Lacey, Samuel, AAF 1823
 Lewis, J.
 Lightfoot, P.
 Lowry, J. or J.W.
 McGahey, J.
 Miller, William * (1796-1882), Edinburgh based, trained in Edinburgh and London.
 Mote, William Henry, AAF 1831
 Mottram, Charles Henry, Address: High Street, Camden (1841 census St Pancras)
 Outhwaite, T.
 Pass or Poss, J.
 Paterson, G.
 Pattern, E.
 Payne, Albert Henry, AAF 1834
 Phelps, J.
 Presbury, George, AAF 1839
 Prior, Thomas Abiel * (1809-86)
 Radcliffe, J.
 Radclyffe, Edward, AAF 1835
 Radclyffe, William, * (1783-1855) AAF 1813, Birmingham trained.
 Ranson, Thomas Fryer
 Redaway, James, * AAF 1826
 Reynolds, Samuel William, * (1773-1835) AAF 1824 (listed as painter)
 Richardson, G.K.
 Roberts, E.
 Robinson, John Henry, AAF 1820
 Rogers, J.
 Rolph, J. or Rolphe
 Rowle, G.
 Saddler, J.
 Sargent, Henry
 Sands, James, AAF 1835 (listed as landscape engraver)
 Sands, Robert, AAF 1812 or Robert junior, AAF 1835
 Scott, John *
 Sherratt, J.
 Shepherd, Thomas Hosmer
 Smith, John
 Smith, W.R. * (fl. 1819-51)
 Staines, Robert, AAF 1833
 Starling, M.J. or J or T. (a William Francis listed in AAF 1839)
 Stocks, Lumb, AAF 1837
 Storer, Henry Sargent
 Storer, James Sargent * (1771-1853), worked with John Greig.
 Taylor, W.
 Templeton, J.

Thomas, J.
 Tingle, James, AAF 1835
 Tombleson, William, AAF 1827
 Topham, Francis William, AAF 1837 (listed as engraver and draughtsman)
 Turnbull, Thos.
 Varrall or Varralls, John Charles, AAF 1820, Address: Pratt Street, Camden (1841 census St Pancras)
 Walker, F.F. or Frederick, AAF 1836
 Wallis, Henry
 Wallis, Robert, * (1794-1878) AAF 1823 (but listed as sculptor, possibly a mistake)
 Wallis, William, AAF 1820
 Watkins, W. or W.G.
 Wetherhead, W.
 Wilkinson, W.S.
 Willmore, Arthur
 Willmore, James Tibbits, * (1800-63) AAF 1828, trained in Birmingham under Radclyffe.
 Winkles, Benjamin
 Winkles, Henry, AAF 1823 (but listed as sculptor, possibly a mistake)
 Winkles, Richard
 Woolnoth or Woolnott, William (AAF lists Thomas 1824 and Chas. Nicholls 1839)
 Wrangmore, W.C.
 Young, E.

2. Index to Virtue's Engravers

Allen, J.B. *
 Adlard, Henry
 Appleton, J.W.
 Armytage, James Charles *
 Benjamin, E.
 Bentley, J.C.
 Bradshaw, Samuel
 Brandard, Edward Paxman
 Brandard, Robert *
 Capone, or Capon, William Holmes
 Carter, James
 Challis, Ebenezer
 Cousen, Charles
 Cousen, John
 Davies, S.T.
 Dawson, R.
 Finden, Edward Francis *
 Fisher, Samuel
 Giles, J.
 Griffiths, H.
 Havell, Frederick James
 Higham, Thomas *
 Hill, W.
 Hinchcliffe, J.J.
 Jeavons, Thomas *

Lacey, Samuel
Le Keux, John Henry
Lewis, J.
Mills, G.
Mossman, W.
Prior, Thomas Abiel *
Radclyffe, E.
Radclyffe, W. *
Redaway, James, C. *
Richardson, G. or G.K. or Chas.
Roberts, E.J. or E.I.
Rogers, John
Rolph, J.
Sands, James
Sands, Robert
Smith, J. or John or Jno.
Smith, W.R. *
Starling, M.J.
Starling, T. or J.
Taylor, W.
Thompson, D.
Tingle, James
Tombleson, W.
Topham, Francis William
Turnbull, T.
Varrall, John Charles
Waller, R.
Wallis, Henry
Wallis, Robert *
Willmore, James Tibbetts *
Woolnoth, William